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THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

EXCERPT FROM CONVENTION BY RICHARD REEVES

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A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE . . .

By Ed Salzman

Opening the phone-booth door

In terms of the public's right to know what its representatives are doing, the Assembly Republican caucus has been doing all the right things — for all the wrong reasons.

Until a couple of months ago, all Democratic and Republican caucus meetings were held behind closed doors, with even staff members barred. For years, the press was told that members could hardly discuss partisan strategy in public and that secrecy was needed to make the legislative process work. In addition, all Republican members of the Assembly could be locked into a position on a bill by two-thirds vote of the caucus. This vote could not legally bind members, but peer pressure was sufficient to prevent rebellious behavior.

Suddenly, in February, Republican leader Paul Priolo announced that secrecy wasn't necessary after all and that hereafter all GOP caucus meetings would be open to the press. Furthermore, the two-thirds rule was abandoned — just like that. There were a couple of minor exceptions to the open-meeting rule. The caucus executive and issues committees continue to meet privately, but Priolo kissed these off as relatively meaningless groups. (If so, why can't they meet in public?)

Priolo claims the new rules constitute proof that the GOP is committed to openness in government, and he has challenged the Democrats to follow suit. There never has been a valid reason for closing the doors on party caucuses. Often, the fate of major legislation is decided at these meetings, and the public has a right to watch these issues being decided. And the two-thirds binding-vote rule denies members the right to vote their consciences under our system of individual rather than party responsibility.

Unfortunately, these were not the reasons why the Republicans changed their rules. GOP fortunes have sunk so low in the Assembly that the caucus now has little leverage. Who cares what the Republicans decide when the Democrats have 57 out of 80 votes? By opening the doors, the Republicans gave themselves a chance to get some needed publicity and embarrass the Democrats still meeting in private. The GOP gave up absolutely nothing by opening the doors.

But eventually the Republicans will win more seats and get into a position where they can block passage of the budget and other legislation requiring a two-thirds vote. Then, somehow, will the veil of secrecy be pulled again? Will the caucus doors remain open or will the real decision be made by the executive or issues committee meeting in secret and with all Republicans invited to participate?

No one can expect that every part of the complex legislative process be conducted in a fish bowl. Small groups of leaders will always huddle to plot strategy. But when one party controls a house by an overwhelming margin, as the Democrats do in the Assembly today, caucus decisions are tantamount to Assembly decisions, and shouldn't those proceedings be open to public view?

Editorial cartoon by Paul Conrad
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California Journal

THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS
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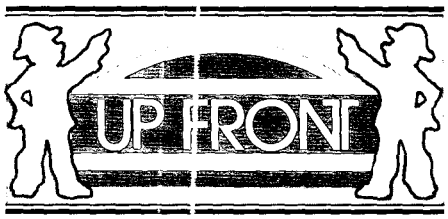

Appellate Justice Cruz Reynoso is the favorite to be Governor Brown's next nominee to the state Supreme Court. Now that the first woman and first Black have been appointed to the high court, the Chicano barrier should be the next to fall. Reynoso, former head of California Rural Legal Assistance, is the highest ranking Chicano on the bench.

Speaking of Chicanos, there are those who are advising Assemblyman Ron Cordova of Orange County to take advantage of his name and run for the Democratic nomination for attorney general next year. The theory: Cordova won his Assembly seat by a fluke and cannot win reelection. If he goes for attorney general, he might be able to parlay his Chicano name and his Jewish heritage into victory.

William Bennett, the energetic chairman of the state Board of Equalization, is talking about running for attorney general again. And he says he's more serious than he was four years ago, when he floated a trial balloon. Bennett thinks he might be able to emulate the low-budget primary campaign of his Marin County neighbor, S. I. Hayakawa.

Civil-liberties lawyers are upset about Jerry Brown's efforts to change the landmark determinate-sentence bill (SB 42) passed by the Legislature last year. They claim the Governor promised to give the bill a three-year trial.

Heading for the courts: Expense claims filed by two state employees, Dee De Pina and Iris McQueen, seeking compensation for child care on nights when they were required to be out of town on state business. They maintain refusal to pay constitutes discrimination against unmarried women by the state.

In case you were wondering, of Jerry Brown's first 1,409 appointments, 526 were women, 129 Chicano, 105 Black, 44 Asian, 10 Native American, five Filipino — and 590 White males.

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FROM RICHARD REEVES' NEW BOOK, CONVENTION:

How Strauss and Kirbo tried to humiliate Jerry Brown

By Richard Reeves

* * * MONDAY * * *

Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown, Jr. was a clever politician with a talent, at least as impresssive as Jimmy Carter's, for reaching people, especially young ones. Trading smartly on the name and connections of his father — former California Governor Pat Brown — he had barely won election in 1974, but had become phenomenally popular since. A former Jesuit seminarian who was inaugurated to the chants of a Sufi choir, Brown captivated Californians by circumventing liberal-conservative dogma and by wittily espousing an evolving, cerebral mix of the teachings of Saint Ignatius and Thomas Aquinas, Buddha, the existentialists, and Machiavelli.

So it was within the nature of Brown's political character that when the Democratic National Committee Site Selection Committee went to Los Angeles in April, 1975, the Democratic governor casually attacked them as a bunch of big-time spenders looking for luxury hotels. He suggested that delegates should sleep in church basements. Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles, who was arranging parties at the homes of movie stars like Robert Wagner and Natalie Wood to impress the committee, was embarrassed. Governor Philip Noel of Rhode Island, a member of the committee, was enraged: "I will never vote to go anyplace that Jerry Brown has anything to do with. He accuses us of going to fancy parties — this dude who grew up in a governor's mansion while my mother was hitting a press in a jewelry factory . . . . The little bastard doesn't have a full seabag."

"It was New York by default," said National Chairman Bob Strauss. "We are afraid of demonstrations and of getting caught up in the image of New York's financial and labor troubles. We desperately tried to figure out a way to go to New Orleans or Kansas City . . . . Miami Beach didn't want us again. And, then, that little bastard — I couldn't trust him. Who would go someplace where Jerry Brown controls the National Guard? I had visions of riots and him sitting on a mattress and refusing to call out troops."

With all of that, and with the sending of Knicks', Mets', and Yankees' uniform shirts to the sons of Site Selection Committee members, New York almost lost. The television networks were arguing so strongly for Los Angeles that Pat Cunningham, the New Yorker who was chairman of the committee, cracked: "You just want to get away from your wives for a few weeks at Malibu." On the day of the final vote, August 18, 1975, Governor Noel had two votes — he held a proxy for Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware — and that was the difference. The vote for New York was 11 to 9.

Jerry Brown arrived in New York as a serious presidential candidate, having won 320 or so delegates in a series of spectacular late primary victories. He started too late to stop Carter — the Georgian was a declared candidate before Brown took office on January 1, 1975, and the Californian was forced to wait a while before flashing his ambition. But in the stretch, Brown badly embarrassed the front-runner. He out-Cartered Carter — Brown became the fresh face, the mysterious outsider, and Carter was the Establishment figure trying to consolidate his holdings. Even after Carter had clinched the nomination by winning the Ohio primary on June 8, Brown refused to quit, traveling the country needling the Georgian and picking up a few loose delegates here and there. Now, as usual, no one was sure what the hell Jerry Brown was going to do next.

On Carter's floor of the Americana and on Strauss's floor of the Statler Hilton, the fear was that Brown would try to address the Convention and perhaps spark a movement for himself as the vice-presidential candidate. It was a measure of the pull of Brown's vague rhetoric about a new generation of leadership and planetary realism that both Strauss and Carter's senior adviser, Charles Kirbo, agreed that everything possible should be done to prevent Jerry Brown from getting near the podium.

"Let's just wait," Strauss said. "We'll keep our hands off. He's like a pimple on your face. If you touch 'em too soon, you get a red blotch. If you wait till the right moment, they just pop."

* * * TUESDAY * * *

At 2:00 P.M., Charles Kirbo came to Strauss's office and the two of them walked around the corner to the McAlpin Hotel on West 33rd Street. It was not exactly their kind of place — the few guests there were fighting a losing battle against legions of mice and roaches — but it was Jerry Brown's style. Kirbo and Strauss were meeting with the governor of California — they wanted to see if the pimple was ready to pop.

The McAlpin was scheduled to close down forever on the day after the Convention and had already been deserted by two delegations that originally had chosen it — Oklahoma and Arizona — but Brown chose to hold court among the ruins rather than join the rest of the California delegation uptown at the New York Hilton.

"Nice place," Strauss said with a grin. That was about as

Excerpted from **CONVENTION** *by Richard Reeves, former political writer for the* New York Times *and* New York Magazine. *Published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.* *Copyright © 1977 by Richard Reeves.*

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far as the negotiations got between the chairman, Kirbo, the governor, and six young aides — "the acolytes," Strauss called them. Brown said that, after Wednesday night's roll call, he would be willing to make a motion that Jimmy Carter be nominated by acclamation. "We're going to recognize some well-scrubbed American to do that," Strauss said, thinking that this was the way Brown wanted to get to the podium and on television, maybe starting a movement for himself as vice-president. After the chairman left, Brown, who was usually pretty well scrubbed, asked his campaign manager, Mickey Kantor: "What did that mean?"

* * * WEDNESDAY * * *

While Carter was downstairs, his friend Charlie Kirbo got a call from Mickey Kantor. "Let me think out loud with you," Kantor said. "If Governor Brown wanted to come to the Convention tonight and call for Carter's nomination by acclamation, what would happen?" Well, Kirbo said, he wasn't sure, he thought maybe Bob Strauss was working out something different, that Georgia wanted to make that motion for their native son.

The pimple, Kirbo reported later to Strauss, seemed to be about ready to pop.

Being a floor leader for Jimmy Carter had been a nice way for Frank Mankiewicz to wander the floor talking with old friends. He was responsible for the California and Texas delegations, among others, but there was not much to be responsible about — no fights. It was different from 1972, when Mankiewicz had been one of George McGovern's managers and watched the Convention slide into chaos, leaving McGovern a candidate without a party.

"Frank," said Diane Feinstein, a San Francisco County supervisor and Carter delegate, "we have to do something. The Brown people are mad as hell. Jerry offered to withdraw and move to make the nomination unanimous, but Carter has turned him down."

"That doesn't make sense," Mankiewicz said, "but I'll check it out." He went to the Carter trailers and found Hamilton Jordan, who said, "That's not true. I don't know anything about it and, if anybody was talking to Jerry Brown, I'd know about it."

Mankiewicz went back to the floor and told Ms. Feinstein it never happened. "It happened," said Leo McCarthy, the Speaker of the California Assembly and a Brown delegate. "Ask Mickey."

Mickey Kantor, Brown's manager, said it not only happened but that Brown himself was just on CBS saying he had been turned down. One of the functions of the networks at conventions has become to provide an internal communications system — television is the drums, the grapevine, the word. And the word was out; now things were serious. Mankiewicz and Kantor headed for the Carter trailer, grabbing Senator Alan Cranston as they went. In the trailer they sat down with Jordan — who by then knew that he hadn't known about Kirbo's negotiations — and worked out a plan: Brown would be nominated and after the roll call was completed, he would announce the first switch of the state votes, standing at the California microphone. Kantor telephoned Brown and the governor said he would think about it, but that he still wanted to go to the podium. Brown said he'd call right back.

They waited — more than an hour. Brown called back after ten o'clock, as Cesar Chavez was nominating him for president, and said he would do it — if Chairman Strauss agreed to recognize him from the podium. Cranston found Strauss behind the podium and told him what had happened. "Fine," the chairman said, "that's fine. I was just waiting to see what Jerry wanted to do."

The vote when the roll call was completed was: Carter — 2,238½; Udall — 329½; Brown — 300½ . . . .

The California delegation microphone was switched on for Jerry Brown's moment at 11:34 — one of the reasons Strauss wanted Brown on the floor was that the chairman also could have switched that mike off if he didn't like what the young governor was saying. Brown made it brief, calling for unity, for victory, and then switching "California's 278 votes" to Carter. What about the other 2? California had 280 votes. "They're floating in the hall someplace," he said.

"Big deal, Jerry!" someone shouted in the Carter command trailer. "Jerry's Born Again," came the answer from across the crowd, laughing and raising beer cans in celebration. Rick Hutcheson, Carter's deputy campaign manager and chief delegate counter, had ordered that no beer be allowed inside the trailer — the order was in force for about a half-hour until Hamilton Jordan, Hutcheson's boss, came in and said, "Where's the beer? I want a beer."

While Brown did his thing, Dan Courtenay's phone rang four levels below. The NYPD commander picked it up and heard Cliff Cassidy, the DNC's security chief: "The Brown motorcade will not be allowed back up the VIP ramp." Courtenay relayed the message, telling his cops not to let Brown's car inside the Garden. "A parting shot," Courtenay said. "He held out on them, so they make him walk out and try to find his car."

* * * THURSDAY * * *

Jerry Brown walked back to the McAlpin along West 33rd Street, smiling when a teenager called out: "We want *you* for president, Jerry!"

"Well, keep it in mothballs," Brown yelled back.

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A surprise Chicano view of Cesar Chavez

By Ray Gonzales

It was significant that Cesar Chavez gave the nominating speech for Governor Brown at last year's Democratic National Convention — not because it affirmed Brown's long-established ties with the farmworker cause but rather because it reaffirmed Chavez' importance, at least symbolically, in national Democratic circles. At the same time, Chicano Governor Jerry Apodaca of New Mexico went almost unnoticed as a convention participant.

In contrast, the recent Democratic state convention in Sacramento was marked by the conspicuous absence of any group remotely resembling a Chavez or farmworker delegation. No resolutions were raised in support of the farmworker cause; no candidate for party office evoked the name of Chavez as an endorsement; even within the Chicano caucus, the farmworker issue was all but dead.

What explains this apparent sudden demise of the United Farmworker movement as a political force? In the words of Ricardo Romo, assistant director of employment for San Francisco: "Well, at least after the defeat of Proposition 14, it won't be a case of the tail wagging the dog. The weight of urban Chicano politics in the past has been distorted to fulfill the needs of a small minority of Chicanos."

Ed Rivera, a Chicano activist-consultant in Sacramento, was just as blunt: "The farmworker movement has never been put into its proper perspective. There has been a great deal of frustration among many urban Chicanos over the fact that Chavez, albeit unintentionally, has focused all of the state's and nation's attention on the plight of 200,000 farmworkers at the expense of the other three million Latinos that live in California." One high Chicano official in the Brown Administration goes so far as to say that "Chavez has continued to feed the stereotyping of the Chicano image. Who would ever guess that over 86 percent of the Chicanos of this state are urbanized and don't work in the fields?" Senator Ruben Ayala, whose San Bernardino district is less than 12 percent Chicano, says that "the defeat of Proposition 14 has exposed the lack of the UFW's political muscle."

The author, a former professor and assemblyman, is a member of the state Educational Employment Relations Board.

Bottom of the heap?

Joe Serna, an aide to Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally, on the other hand, indicates that the record time in which the UFW qualified the initiative for the ballot demonstrates a great deal of political organization. And Assemblyman Art Torres feels that the initiative lost not because of Chavez' inadequacies but because of the "specious arguments" used by the growers on the access rule. Whatever the cause for the defeat of Proposition 14, one thing appears to be certain. Democratic candidates may not be so willing to align themselves with farmworker issues as they have been in the past. As Ricardo Romo pointed out, "Proposition 14 pitted Democrat against Democrat, labor leader against labor leader, Chicano against Chicano, and ultimately led to the defeat of both Carter and Tunney in California." Julian Camacho, deputy director of the Department of General Services, claims that "there are too many 'guerras-wars' among Chicanos and too little being done by our so-called leaders to unify us. It should be emphasized that Chicanos, like other people, should not be looking for any messiahs . . . We are at the bottom of the heap, along with Filipinos and Indians, and we'll have to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps."

Ed Rivera maintains that support of the farmworker cause in the past has tended to help white liberal candidates rather than Chicano candidates. "There is little doubt that identification with the farmworker cause has been a must for most liberal Democratic candidates both at the state and national levels. It was Proposition 14 this election and the grower initiative, Proposition 22, in 1972." An interesting aspect to this phenomenon is that candidates don't really hope to attract Chicano votes by identifying with the farmworker movement. What they are seeking is the support of the campus liberals, both students and teachers, and the endorsement of labor groups and ideological fat-cats who would not likely contribute to any candidate who rejected a "sacred" cause such as the movement embodied in the image of Cesar Chavez.

Chicano political figures are the first to acknowledge that support of the farmworker cause will not in itself generate strong support in the Chicano community for either a Chicano or non-Chicano candidate, for three prime reasons: The Chicano community is by no means unanimous in support of the UFW though most are sympathetic toward the farm labor issue. Chicanos as a group have a low voter turnout, less than five percent statewide in most elections. Most Chicanos are urbanized, 86 percent to be exact.

Most Chicano leaders would agree that, although the support for Chavez is by no means unanimous, he deserves credit for the tremendous impact he has had on the employment conditions of farmworkers in this state.

Shifting issues

Now, however, he has suffered a staggering defeat at the ballot box. Leading Democrats were split on Proposition 14; Governor Brown actively supported the initiative, while Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy opposed it. Even the Chicano community seemed to be split down the middle. Many Democrats were satisfied that the new Agricultural Labor Relations Board could guarantee farmworkers' collective-bargaining rights. The two-to-one defeat of Proposition 14 is probably less significant to the farmworkers than to the Democratic party in general and to Chicanos in particular. It appears to signal, in the words of Ellie Enriquez Peck, a Carter-campaign leader, "a shift to other very important issues to Chicanos." There is a consensus among the emerging Chicano leaders that although the farmworkers are not exactly on easy street, their needs are being met by new state laws.

Many feel that the UFW should concentrate on evolution into a more traditional union geared to member services and assuring that the new laws are enforced. Meanwhile, only time will tell how much political evolution will occur among those urban Chicanos who feel that their time has come.

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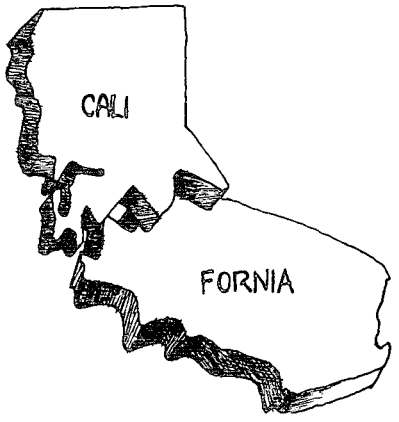
How California life will change as a result of two parched years



By Anne Jackson

I've sung this song but I'll sing it again
Of the place that I lived on the wild dusty plain
In the month called April, the county called Gray,
Here's what all the people there say:
So long, it's been good to know you,
So long, it's been good to know you,
So long, it's been good to know you,
This dusty old dust is a-getting my home
And I've got to be drifting along.

Woody Guthrie
1930's Dust Bowl ballad

Unlike an earthquake or a tornado, a drought sneaks up on you. Rainless weeks pass. A few anxious faces are turned toward the sky. Then more. Finally a general alarm is sounded.

The Great California Drought, the record will show, began back in 1975. In 1977 we got worried. Overnight, the state Flood Control Office became the state Drought Information Center. Farmers surveyed their parched fields and debated whether to plant this season. Skiers stayed home for lack of snow. In some cities, Navy showers became a fact of life. Government began scurrying to find solutions — or at least first aid. And Marin County's Nicasio Reservoir became famous — its empty belly stretched out like a Goliath's jigsaw puzzle.

California's drought is not yet of the proportions that made 1930's Dust Bowl victims throw their belongings into battered Chevrolets and head West, but it's severe enough. Neither is it California's first drought. But when the last one occurred, between 1927 and 1934, there were only six million people in the state. Now there are 21 million.

How will it affect us? In economic terms, the combined damage from the West Coast drought and the Eastern freeze could be great — between $2.9 and $6.3 billion, say state economists. Much of that loss will be to agriculture, which uses 85 percent of the state's water. Energy costs will rise. Jobs will be lost — one state expert says between 57,000 and 259,000 persons will be unemployed because of the drought. Fruit and vegetables will cost more. Wildlife will suffer from low river flows and lack of forage. Personal income growth will be retarded, and decreased revenues will affect the state budget.

Second dimension

The drought has another dimension — its effect on future water use. California has elaborate methods for moving water from where it is to where it's needed, and under the stress of the drought weak points have emerged to fuel old rivalries: the north versus the south, the state versus the federal government, the environmentalists versus the dam builders.

One trouble is that the system generally moves water from north to south. There's no way to pump the water from south to north; and it's the normally waterlogged north which is drying up now, while the south, with very little native water, is awash with earlier runoffs from the Rockies, the Owens Valley and Northern California. That's enough to rekindle the movement by some Northern Californians to sever the state at the Tehachapis and to stop the "theft" of water from the north. The filling this spring of the Mission Viejo Company's recreational lake in Orange County brought cries of outrage from water-short northstaters. But the south responds that its users pay for the projects that both bring the water south and save Northern California from the disastrous flooding that used to occur.

The state and federal governments are also trading renewed blows over the awkward semi-marriage of their water systems, which seems to both require and preclude cooperation. And at the heart of the dispute is the fragile Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta.

A dam stampede?

Environmentalists, cheered that the drought has at least made water conservation socially acceptable, nonetheless fear a stampede to increase dam and canal building, with a consequent loss of the last remaining wild rivers and flooding of dwindling wildlife habitats. These fears are based on precedent: The last drought gave rise to the State Central Valley Project Act of 1933, and legislators have already begun calling for more harnessing of northern waters.

In short, the drought has burned into the collective psyche the knowledge that water is a finite resource. The resolution of renewed conflicts over this resource will shape the face of California for generations to come. As Department of Water Resources official Ken Woodward observed, "Our lives will never be the same."

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Dry snow, would you believe?

How bad is it?

If current trends hold, 1977 could be California's driest year since state rainfall records began a 100 years ago. While Southern California has been receiving about 62 percent of normal precipitation, Northern California has been getting only a small fraction of its usual share. Some examples:

	Average rainfall, October - March	*Total this season*
Eureka	26.7 inches	7.62 inches
Crescent City	49.5 inches	11.95 inches
Red Bluff	15.5 inches	5.38 inches
Sacramento	13.0 inches	3.70 inches

Snowpacks, usually the source of 70 percent of the state's water, had depths which were only 30 percent of normal in February, promising little help for depleted reservoirs during the spring runoff. At Norden near Donner Summit, the snowpack in March was 27 inches — 61 inches below normal.

To make matters worse, the snow that did fall during the winter months was abnormally dry, containing only one-fifth of the normal moisture. State experts predict that when those snows melt, the total spring runoff into the Central Valley will be only 40 percent of normal. Because 1977 is the second consecutive drought year, with 1976 the third driest year on record, California's reservoirs are dramatically low:

- Shasta Reservoir north of Redding, the principal storage facility for the Bureau of Reclamation's Central Valley Project, had sunk by February to 91 feet below normal level.
- The State Water Project's Oroville Reservoir, which normally contains 2,530,000 acre feet of water, was down to 1.6 million acre feet.
- The Bureau of Reclamation's Folsom Lake was 44 feet below its normal level with a total water shortage of some 250,000 acre feet.
- The 143 major reservoirs in the state have a combined capacity of 33.7 million acre feet. By March 1st, they contained only 12.5 million acre feet.

Even with normal precipitation for the rest of the year, soil moisture content is so low in the mountains that several inches of rain would be soaked up before watersheds would produce any significant runoff. Ken Lloyd of the state Department of Water Resources' Drought Information Center estimates that over 50 inches of precipitation would be needed by June on the Shasta watershed to bring runoff to normal and that the Feather River watershed would need 40 inches of precipitation before runoff into the Oroville Reservoir would be normal.

What's causing it?

Meteorologists say phenomena involving sun-spot activity and sea-surface temperatures are causing a high-pressure ridge to hang stubbornly over the Pacific about 200 miles northwest of San Francisco. That system normally moves up and down the coast allowing storms from the Gulf of Alaska to reach the West. But for the last two years it has stuck to one spot, blocking weather fronts and causing California's rain to fall in Canada or into the sea.

How long will the drought continue?

According to National Weather Service meteorologist Milo Radulovich, weather conditions can be predicted only about one month in advance with any degree of reliability. Apart from that, a general drought prognosis can be made:

- Statistically, says Radulovich, there is about one chance in three that any year will be a drought year, so 1978 carries those odds.
- Since this year's rainy season has already passed, no significant rainfall can reasonably be expected until the precipitation resumes next October.
- Even with wet weather in the months ahead, depleted reservoirs and dry soil conditions assure that the effects of the drought, if not the drought itself, will continue into 1978.

How much water will be available for use during 1977?

State Department of Water Resources Director Ron Robie estimates that there will be about 31 million acre feet of water available for use in California in 1977 — about half of it from ground water sources. Experts predict that amount will fall about 10 million acre feet short of the year's expected water need. The outlook for where those shortages will occur:

The Bureau of Reclamation this year is cutting its water deliveries to 3.4 million acre feet — down from 6 million acre feet in 1976 and less than half the normal 7 million acre feet delivered. Most of the Bureau's agricultural customers will receive about one quarter of their usual CVP water. Municipal and industrial CVP water contractors, who usually receive about 4 percent of the total CVP water, will get half their normal supply. Some CVP agricultural users in the Sacramento Valley who established water rights before the CVP existed will receive 75 percent of their contract water.

The major areas affected by the CVP cutbacks are the central and western San Joaquin Valley from Stockton to south of Fresno. Farmers in those areas normally receive 3 million acre feet a year from the CVP. This year they will get only 1.2 million acre feet.

In some cases farmers will be able to offset water deficits through increased ground water pumping and conservation, but no one can say for certain how much more water will be made available through those methods.

Westlands, biggest customer

The Bureau's biggest customer, the 600,000-acre Westlands Water District in Fresno County, last year received

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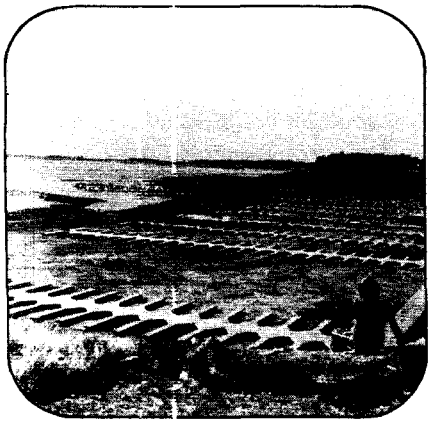


almost 1.3 million acre feet of water from the CVP (23 percent of the total CVP supply). This year Westlands will receive only 250,000 acre feet; and the district has almost no available ground water.

The state will reduce deliveries to its 24 State Water Project contracting districts to 1.8 million acre feet — slightly more than half the projected demand of 3.4 million acre feet. The state's largest agricultural customer, the Kern County Water Agency, therefore, will receive 418,766 acre feet instead of the 890,000 it obtained last year.

Earlier the state announced it would cut agricultural users to 60 percent of their entitlements and municipal and industrial users to 90 percent. But the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, the state's largest contractor, agreed to relinquish the rest of its share of state water this year and to substitute water from the Colorado River. That agreement made an additional 320,000 acre feet available for Northern California and Central Valley water users.

Water users who draw upon the Colorado River are in much better shape this year than those who use Northern California water. Runoff in the Colorado River watershed has been above normal for the past ten years, filling reservoirs to the brim.

Imperial Valley at normal

As a result, the Imperial Valley in Southern California, which obtains all of its water from the Colorado River, will receive its normal 3.3 million acre feet this year. The Coachella Valley, too, has an abundance of water. That region draws its supplies from deep local wells.

Some urban areas are short of water, but DWR director Robie claims none are in danger of running entirely dry so long as conservation measures are followed. A 25 percent reduction in urban water use, he estimates, will see California cities through 1978 even if that year is as dry as 1977.

The worst urban water pinch is being felt in the San Francisco Bay area, particularly Marin County, the City of San Francisco, and cities serviced by the East Bay Municipal Utility District, including Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, Richmond, Orinda and Walnut Creek.

East Bay MUD, second in size among suppliers of residential water only to the city of Los Angeles, serves 1.1 million people and draws its water from the Mokelumne River. By mid-February, the district's main storage facility, the Pardee Reservoir, had only an 111-day supply of water and local reservoirs were down to a 180-day supply. In order to stretch the water even that far the district imposed a strict mandatory rationing program, limiting residences to 280 gallons of water per day and cutting industrial users by 10 percent. Suburban East Bay families had been using about 845 gallons a day and urban residents, 352 gallons. The District's goal, according to general manager John S. Harnett, is an all-over 25 percent reduction in water use.

In Marin County, the hardest-hit region in the state, residents are limited to a scant 60 gallons of water per day per person (enough for one five-minute shower), or 148 gallons per day for a family of four. The county has almost no ground water and relies entirely on stored rainwater for its water supply. Back to back dry years have left those storage facilities almost empty. An emergency allocation of 11,000 acre feet of water relinquished by Southern California has been made to Marin County. Plans are also underway to build a pipeline across the Richmond-San Rafael Bridge to supply the county with 6-10 million gallons a day of Sacramento-San Joaquin delta water.

On the Monterey peninsula, reservoirs are down to 25 percent of normal and could run dry this spring, leaving the area dependent on well water. Residents there have been limited to 50 gallons of water per day per person.

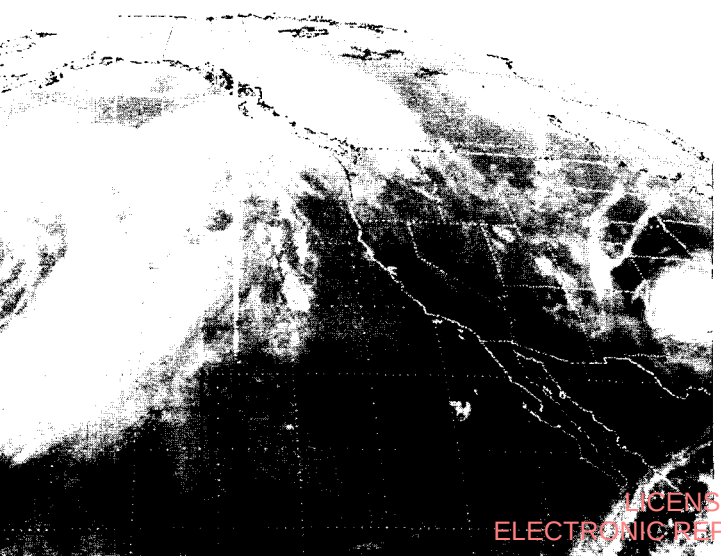
Southern California's Metropolitan Water District, which serves 11 million people from Ventura to San Diego, is now drawing all of its water from the Colorado River and has no present shortages.

The City of San Diego, which gets 90 percent of its water from the Colorado River, is also in good shape.

The fragile delta

The City of Los Angeles has changed its sources of supply this year, but is still receiving its normal 610,000 acre feet. Usually 80 percent of Los Angeles water comes from the Owens Valley. Because of low mountain runoffs and court action enjoining Los Angeles from using half its Owens Valley wells, that 80 percent has been cut to 60. To compensate, Los Angeles is receiving 20 percent (instead of 5 percent) of its water this year from the Metropolitan Water District. The rest of the city's water is pumped from local wells which have not been affected by the drought.

Because of cuts in State Water Project and Central Valley Project water deliveries, the State Water Resources Control Board agreed to lower water-quality standards temporarily for the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. Salinity will be increased from 623 parts per million to 750 parts per million at Tracy, with a saving in outflow estimated at 1 million acre feet of water.



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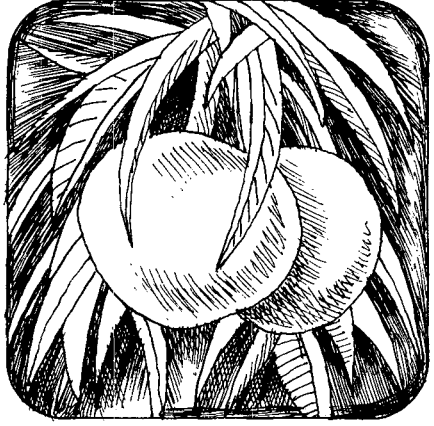

Agriculture

How will agriculture be affected?

State agricultural economists have predicted a gross drought-related loss to California's $9 billion agriculture industry of between $790 million and $2 billion, with the most probable figure estimated at about $1.3 billion.

Those numbers hinge on a great many variables. The most optimistic estimates assume that rainfall will be normal for the rest of the year, that surface water deficits will be partly offset by conservation measures and by increased ground water pumping, and that there will be sufficient electricity available to power the pumps. The pessimistic projections allow for little additional rainfall and assume difficulties in ground-water pumping because of electrical brownouts and collapsing wells.

Last year, dryland farmers and livestock producers were the only segments of the agriculture industry hurt by the drought, and those are the areas which will suffer the greatest losses in 1977.

Irrigated farmland was not affected by the 1976 drought because reservoirs were still 80 percent full. This year, state Department of Food and Agriculture economist Gordon Snow estimates water available for irrigating crops will be reduced statewide by an average of one-third.

Precisely how water cutbacks will affect farmers' decisions about what to plant will not be clear until after crop surveys are completed in late April, but generally farmers are expected to reduce acreages of high water-use crops like rice, cotton, sugar beets, tomatoes and alfalfa and to plant crops that use less water including barley, wheat and milo.

Market conditions may alter those adjustments, however. Tomatoes, for example, are expected to sell for $55 per ton this year, up from $47.50 last year. Farmers may therefore decide to plant them despite their high water usage. Cotton is at its highest price ever, about 70 cents per pound, and has the added advantage of producing even when water is short, although in reduced yields, whereas tomatoes would fail altogether. By making crop trade-offs and taking advantage of expected rises in market prices many farmers will be able to offset their losses substantially.

The extent to which ground-water pumping can make up for losses in surface water is a major unknown in the puzzle. The state's ground-water supply is thought to be extensive — about 1.3 billion acre feet, with about 143 million acre feet available for pumping. But the water table in some areas is dropping rapidly. In the Central Valley it has been falling an average of 1.5 feet per year; last year it dropped 7.5 feet and this year some experts predict it will drop another 15-20 feet and even up to 40 feet in some areas.

The more the water table drops the deeper (and therefore more expensive) the wells must be. In some areas farmers with existing wells are being forced to deepen them to reach the falling water table. Deeper wells also require more electricity for pumping out the water, and power supplies are already being strained.

The Pacific Gas and Electric Company, in whose jurisdiction most of the well-drilling is taking place, has warned of possible brownouts this summer as a result of the increased pumping and hydroelectric shortages caused by the drought.

Many farmers who are counting on new wells to bail them out this year may not get them dug in time. Well-diggers report they are running more than six weeks behind in filling orders.

The ability of most farmers to get through the drought will depend upon the willingness of the banks to lend them money, and banks are asking questions this year about water supplies before they make those loans.

The cattle disaster

Cattle and sheep ranchers, the state's leading agricultural producers, suffered damages estimated at $467.4 million in last year's drought and can expect even heavier losses this year.

The major reason is that livestock operators graze their herds on non-irrigated pastureland; without rain, much of that land, which should be a foot deep in grass at this time of year, is now nothing but bare ground. Ranchers must truck in hay or alfalfa pellets, and the price of feed last year leaped from $60 a ton to $85. Now the price is between $90 and $110.

Another potential problem is that the U.S. Bureau of Land Management, which usually allows private interests to graze livestock on 10 million acres of public land in the state, may soon withdraw that privilege to preserve forage for wild horses, burros, deer and antelope.

What makes all of this especially grim for ranchers is that the state's cattle industry was in trouble even without the drought. Imports from Australia, New Zealand, Argentina and Canada, combined with adverse domestic market conditions, have depressed prices so that some ranchers have been losing money for nearly four years.

Cattle producers, therefore, are being forced to sell their stock early to feed lots or slaughter houses just to curtail their losses. Cattle have been going to market at more than twice the normal rate with many ranchers slaughtering even breeding stock. Paul Banke, spokesman for the 4,200-member California Cattlemen's Association, reports that a cow bought three years ago at $375-$400 is now selling on the market for between $190 and $220. Other cattle, says Banke, are being sold at an average loss of between $100 and $150 per head. The Cattlemen's Association predicts the total number of cattle in the state will drop 30-40 percent below the January 1976 total of 5 million head.

State experts estimate that the state's livestock industry, which had cash receipts of $1.2 billion in 1975 and accounted for one-third of the state's agricultural economy, is likely to suffer a loss in 1977 of more than $500 million.

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The pessimistic projections

Here is how the various food-producing regions of the state are expected to fare this year:

Central Valley. State experts say the Central Valley (Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys), which in normal times turns out an agricultural yield equal to that of the sixth-ranked agricultural nation in the world, will be the area of the state most affected by shortages of irrigation water. The San Joaquin Valley, with over half the state's irrigated farmland, used 17.7 million acre feet of water in 1976. This year there will be only about 10.4 million acre feet available from all sources. That water shortage, predicts the Department of Food and Agriculture, will probably translate into the following acreage losses:

	1976 acreage	*Expected 1977 acreage*
Cotton	925,000	867,000
Grains (barley, wheat, oats)	1,147,000	750,000
Other field crops (hay, sugar beets, dry beans, hops)	1,532,000	900,000
Vegetables (onions, potatoes, tomatoes, bell peppers, lettuce, cabbage)	226,000	200,000
Fruit and nut crops	82,000	25,000
Other perennials (vines)	1,082,000	57,000

In dollar terms, those crop reductions would mean a gross loss to San Joaquin Valley farmers of $682 million.

Within the San Joaquin Valley various counties will be affected as follows:

Fresno County. The 600,000-acre Westlands Water District is located on the west side of Fresno County where corporate landowners lease plots to tenant farmers growing crops such as cotton and tomatoes. Because the water table is 1,000 to 1,500 feet below the surface, the district has little pumping capacity and relies for its water almost entirely upon the CVP. District manager Ralph Brody reports that with the federal cutbacks, Westlands farmers will have to get by this year with 20 percent of the water they need.

The east side of Fresno County is made up predominantly of small farms with perennial crops such as grapes, walnuts, almonds, nectarines, peaches and plums. The water table here is close to the surface and wells are abundant. Although Security Pacific Bank agricultural economist William R. Gentles warns the underground water in this area is being overdrafted, farmers are expected to have sufficient water for 1977.

Kern County. Kern County, which grows cotton, alfalfa, potatoes, grapes, and citrus, had 900,000 acres of irrigated farmland in 1975. This year Kern has a serious water shortage. Usually the county has about 2.1 million acre feet available from all sources; this year it will have only about 1.3 million acre feet. Some 110,000 acres will be left unplanted in 1977.

San Joaquin County. In San Joaquin County, where tomatoes are the biggest crop, followed by grapes and sugar beets, some water shortages are being felt. The southern part of the county around Manteca has few wells and will have only about one quarter of its usual water. New wells are being drilled, but the water table is dropping at what farm adviser Win Lawson calls "an alarming rate." What water is available also has high salinity levels this year.

Madera County. Madera relies mostly on well water for irrigation and may be affected somewhat by falling water tables. The main crops here are grapes and cotton.

Tulare County. This area has many permanent crops including grapes, citrus and plums. Cotton, alfalfa and potatoes are also grown. Most water here comes from wells.

Kings County. Kings County is devoted mainly to large-scale production of cotton, wheat and barley. Well water is abundant.

Merced County. Alfalfa, cotton, tomatoes, almonds and sweet potatoes are the main crops here. Water in about half the county is 50 percent of normal, but many farmers have wells. The other half of the county has over 75 percent of its usual water.

Stanislaus County. The western side of the county has about half the normal water available; the eastern side has varying amounts depending on ground water being pumped.

In the Sacramento Valley, farmers are expected to have about 20 percent less water for irrigation. As a result, the Department of Food and Agriculture has predicted that grain acreage, including the rice crop, will be reduced by 138,000 acres and vegetable crops (mostly tomatoes) will be cut back by 31,000 acres, with a total loss to growers of $84 million.

Sacramento County. Farm Adviser Ted Torngren estimates growers will cut their rice acreage in half and substitute barley and safflower, using water remaining in the ground from last year's rice crop. Rice growers have been hit both by the drought (rice uses twice the water of most crops) and by market conditions. Farmers in the delta will also have a problem this year with high salt levels in the water.

Imperial Valley. Major crops: alfalfa seed, cotton, hay, small grains, sugar beets, asparagus, broccoli, cabbage, cantaloupe, carrots, cucumbers, garlic, lettuce, onions, tomatoes, watermelons. Water for the Imperial Valley comes from the Colorado River. Despite lack of snowfall in the Rockies this year, reservoirs are still full. Security Pacific Bank economist William Gentles predicts Imperial Valley farmers will double their cotton acreage this season and also plant more alfalfa than usual so as to take advantage of shortages elsewhere.

Coachella Valley. Major crops: asparagus, snap beans, carrots, sweet corn, cantaloupe, onions, peppers, tomatoes, watermelon, lemons, oranges. Deep wells here are fed by melting snow from the San Jacinto Mountains and water is plentiful.

Central Coast. Major crops: Dry beans, hay, potatoes, small grains, sugar beets, lettuce, strawberries, broccoli, artichokes, snap beans, peas, spinach, cabbage, carrots, cauliflower, garlic, onions, tomatoes, corn, grapes, pears. Some Central Coast counties will suffer no water shortages, while others will have severe cutbacks. Monterey County, which produces lettuce, tomatoes, sugar beets and strawberries, has plenty of water from local reservoirs. The grape-growing counties of Sonoma, Napa and Mendocino, however, have little water. Losses are expected to total $96 million.

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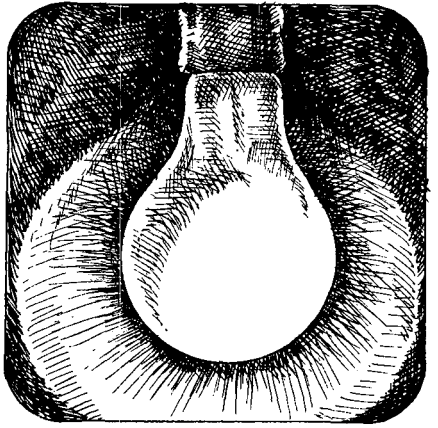


The electrical connection

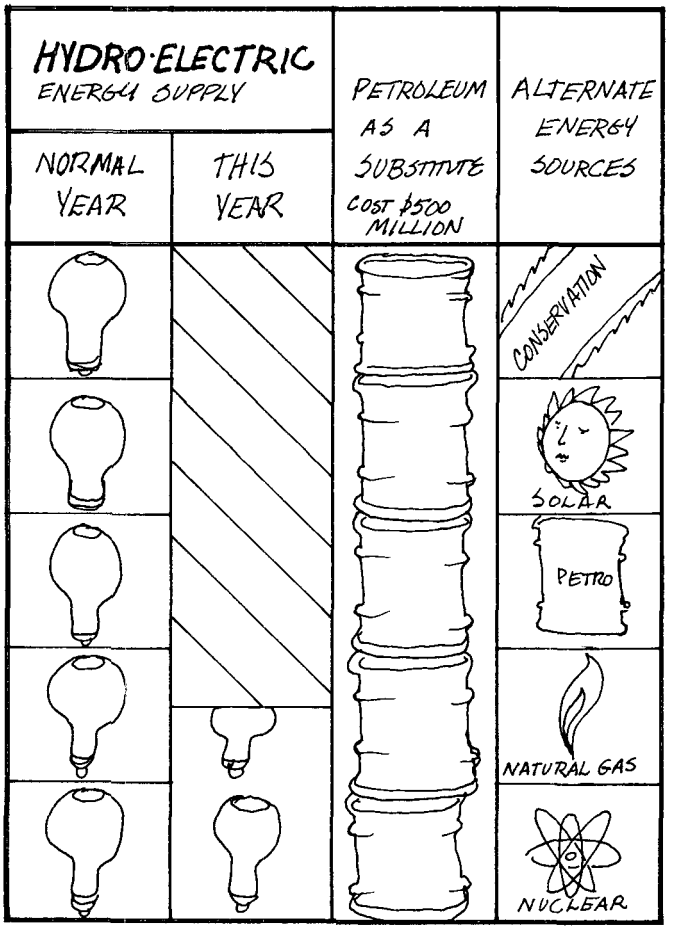
What about electrical supplies?

Reductions in hydroelectricity due to low stream flows will have a profound effect on the state's power generation.

California usually produces 32 billion kilowatt hours (kWh) annually of hydroelectricity — about 20 percent of the state's total electrical output. (One kWh is the amount of electricity needed to burn a 100-watt light bulb for 10 hours.) This year an estimated 12 billion kWh or less will be produced — about 37 percent of normal.

To compensate, utility companies may have to burn 33 million barrels of fuel oil at $15 a barrel to run steam-generating plants. California consumers, therefore, would have to pay about $500 million more for electricity this year.

Most hydroelectric generation is in northern California and most of the impact is being felt within the jurisdiction of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, which produces 40 percent of the state's electricity and serves 3 million northern California customers. Last year PG&E made up for its shortage by buying 5.6 billion kWh of excess power from the Bonneville Power Administration in Oregon. But the drought this year has hit the entire Pacific Northwest, and there is no longer surplus power available for California.



Some alternatives are being studied. PG&E officials hope to buy electricity from the Sacramento Municipal Utility District. SMUD's biggest source of electricity is the Rancho Seco nuclear plant, which has been plagued with shutdowns and may not be able to provide PG&E with any significant amount of electricity.

Another possible energy source for PG&E is the Scattergood Three plant in Manhattan Beach. That plant operates on natural gas, but is shut down because of the gas shortage and because air-pollution officials have refused to allow it to run on fuel oil. PG&E expects to have sufficient natural gas during the summer to run the plant so that electricity can be transferred to Northern California.

Southern California also has energy problems. The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, which serves the city of Los Angeles, last year obtained 15.7 percent of its electricity from Bonneville Power — the equivalent of 6 million barrels of fuel oil. This year DWP says it will have to burn $100 million worth of oil to replace that lost electricity. The city has also been getting hydroelectricity generated by the flow of Owens Valley water to Los Angeles. Now, with Owens Valley water cut to 60 percent of normal, the city will have to burn an additional $30 million worth of fuel oil. The added cost to consumers began to be felt in January when DWP electrical bills went up three percent and company spokesman Duane Georgeson warned that more increases could be expected.

Southern California Edison, which serves much of the rest of Southern California outside of Los Angeles and San Diego, also expects to burn an additional $100 million worth of fuel oil this year.

In Northern California, PG&E officials say that, all considered, the company's total energy output will be only about two percent short of normal. Warns Robert Ham, Emergency Planning Director of the state Energy Commission, "That assumes everything will be working perfectly — but that doesn't happen." Most of the added electricity needed to run ground-water pumps will have to come from PG&E and company officials do not yet know how much more power will be needed.

If power equipment works efficiently, if the summer is cool, if the public conserves energy, and if utility companies are able to trade power as needs arise, electrical supplies may be sufficient to avoid blackouts.

But more likely — partly because peak urban energy needs occur in the summer and fall and coincide with peak energy needs for agricultural pumping — some rolling blackouts will take place, both in Northern and Southern California.

If blackouts are necessary, electricity may be cut in pre-selected areas for short periods of time and on pre-arranged schedules. And because it will be some time before reservoirs regain normal levels, the hydroelectrical shortage — and higher utility rates — will be a fact of life well into next year.

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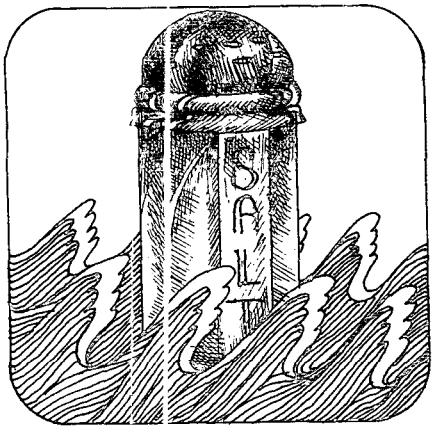

Salty water and dirty air

What about water quality?

Deterioration of water quality is already evident in several areas of the state. Low river flows and increased water temperatures in streams and reservoirs are harming fish and other aquatic wildlife. Reduced flows also mean discharges from secondary treatment plants will be less diluted — a situation which Jim Markle of the State Water Resources Control Board legal staff says will not cause serious problems, however.

In the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, reduced freshwater outflows will increase salinity levels, to the detriment of local fish, wildlife, agriculture and industry. As a result, farmers on Sherman and Jersey Islands in the western Delta, who usually grow corn, may not be able to plant at all this year. Seed production in the nearby Suisun Marsh will also be retarded, and many birds, fish and other wildlife that live in the marsh will be affected by high salinity and disease-producing stagnant pools.

The Crown Zellerbach Company's pulp and paper plant in Antioch, which draws water from the delta, will no longer be able to manufacture cardboard boxes for transporting food products if salt levels are too high. Increased salt in the water used for processing the cardboard causes the cans to rust. Efforts are being made to supply the company with fresh water to circumvent that problem.

In Southern California, about 11 million people within the Metropolitan Water District this spring began receiving water that is saltier than the normal supply.

How will the drought affect air quality?

The burning of fuel oil in steam generating plants to replace hydroelectric power lost to the drought is certain to cause increased air pollution. Alan Goodley, chief of the Air Resources Board's Energy Branch, says natural-gas shortages would have brought about the same result by 1980 anyway — "The drought just made it come earlier."

Utility companies may be able to make up some of their hydroelectric shortages through energy tradeoffs and conservation, so it is not clear exactly how much fuel oil will have to be burned and where.

If all the lost hydroelectricity has to be made up through fuel oil burning, though, that would amount to 33 million more barrels of oil burned in the state next year — over half of it in the Northern California service area of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

In San Luis Obispo, the San Francisco Bay area, Monterey and Santa Cruz, where PG&E's steam generating plants are, the fuel burned would have a sulphur content of 0.5 percent. That would mean the plants would emit 500 times the sulphur dioxide and double the oxides of nitrogen than would be emitted if natural gas were burned.

In the South Coast air basin, the APCD recently limited fuel-oil sulphur content to .25 percent — half that allowed in Northern California — so impact there would be somewhat less severe; but air pollution there is also already much worse than in the North.

How are fish and wildlife being affected?

While no species appear to be permanently threatened because of the drought, many are undergoing hardships and some significant reductions in numbers may take place. Fish and wildlife officials say populations will bounce back, however, once normal rainfall returns. Some of the affected species:

Salmon and steelhead. On some north coast rivers, fish are having difficulty getting past sandbars on their way to spawning grounds. Other salmon and steelhead streams are drying up altogether. In the Central Valley water temperatures are expected to be so warm this year that salmon will not be able to spawn. Department of Fish and Game biologists plan to move large numbers of salmon to other waters for artificial spawning.

Striped bass. Half of the Suisun Marsh population of Neomysis shrimp — main food of young striped bass — has been depleted. Striped populations, therefore will be significantly lower this year. When wet years return, the outflow will be increased beyond normal levels to restore the fishery. (Low reservoir levels in Northern California have disrupted spawning of warm-water fish, including large-mouthed bass, bluegill and crappie.)

Deer, antelope, wild horses and burros. Forage for grazing animals has been drastically reduced in many parts of the state. California's one million deer are doing well thus far, but conditions may become severe as water supplies vanish and feed dwindles. The situation is especially grave in the Sierra foothills where deer compete for food with domestic livestock. This is a prime reason why the Bureau of Land Management may prohibit livestock pasturing on the 10 million acres under its control. That would improve forage for the estimated 2,000 wild burros, 4,300 wild horses and 50,000 mule deer and big-horn antelope. The key to survival for many animals would be the arrival of early fall rains, which would allow them to build strength before winter.

Upland game birds. Chukar, quail and doves of the inner coastal area from San Luis Obispo to Merced suffered last year from a lack of acorns and other food and underwent almost no reproduction. Birds in those areas are expected to be severely affected by this second dry year.

Waterfowl. Much of the habitat for waterbirds depends on surplus agricultural water. Little of that is available this year, and waterfowl population will be cut back — especially that of mallards which depend on California marshlands for breeding grounds. Low water levels and stagnant water may also spread disease among waterfowl. For many water birds, however, the drought will not cause significant problems. Of California's annual population of 16 million waterbirds, only about three percent are born and raised in the state. The rest only winter here and most have returned to Canada and other northern habitats.

Bald eagle, white pelican, black rails. Some bald eagle feeding areas have deteriorated because of the dry weather. Honey Lake in Lassen County dried up several months ago, causing the loss of fish-eating birds like the white pelican. Black rails, which nest in Marin County's Olema Marsh, have been severely affected by the lack of rainfall.

Amphibians and reptiles. Reproduction of amphibians, especially salamanders, has dropped significantly. But amphibians are hardy and biologists believe they can survive one or two dry years.

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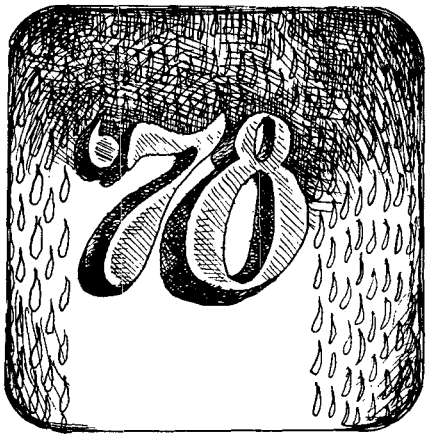

Unthinkable: a dry '78

What if 1978 is dry too?

Even normal rainfall next year will mean playing a catch-up game. Lost soil moisture must be replaced before runoff occurs and it will take plenty of runoff to replenish now-depleted reservoirs.

If next year is as dry as this one, the state will be in serious trouble. The Bureau of Reclamation has warned that if 1978 is even as dry as 1976, it will have no water for agriculture and only 25 percent of its contract amounts for municipal and industrial users. If next year is as dry as 1977, the State Water Project will be able to supply 60 percent of its entitlements to cities and industry and 10 percent to agriculture.

Southern California, which has escaped the drought so far, would not be spared if it continues. Lake Powell, a key element of the Colorado River system, is expected to get only 50 percent of normal runoff this year, which could reduce Colorado River flows by half in 1978. Los Angeles is also locked in a court battle with Inyo County over rights to Owens Valley ground water, normally the source of 500,000 acre feet a year of Los Angeles water. Duane Georgeson, spokesman for the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, observed, "We'll be talking very seriously about mandatory rationing if we get a third dry year."

As for Northern California, urban areas in the San Francisco Bay area will face severe shortages. "They're making plans so as to get through this season," says Ken Woodward of the Department of Water Resources. "You hardly dare to think about *another* dry year." Department of Water Resources Assistant Director Charles Shoemaker insists, however, that "No areas will just run out of water. We'll take more away from agriculture if necessary."

And what of the state's farmlands? Says state agricultural economist Gordon Snow, "If there's no rain next year we can stop worrying about agriculture in the Central Valley — there won't be any."

How will the drought affect the state's economy as a whole?

California has been hit with a meteorological double whammy — the West Coast drought and the East Coast freeze/natural gas shortage. For purposes of assessing the general health of the state economy this year, economists say the two are inseparable. Together they are certain to elicit a series of economic ills: higher food prices, job layoffs, high energy costs, a decrease in the growth rate of the gross state product, an increased rate of inflation, and a slowdown in the rate of personal income growth. The Eastern freeze has meant that shipments from eastern and midwestern cities have been interrupted, hindering West Coast production.

The drought is working hardships not only on California farmers but also on all related activities — food processors, the farm machinery business, produce haulers, retail food sales, and the like. Other sectors of the economy dependent on water are also being affected — operations like laundromats, car washes and pulp mills. The canning industry is doubly vulnerable to drought because it is tied to agriculture and dependent upon large amounts of water for food processing. A large cannery uses about two million gallons of fresh water every day.

The Modesto and Empire Traction Company, a Stanislaus County railroad engaged solely in hauling food products, estimates that a 10 percent reduction in local water supplies would cost the company $400,000 this year. A San Diego baking company with projected 1977 sales of $8 million says a 10 percent water reduction would cause it to lose about $2 million.

Charles Benton, spokesman for the San Francisco-based Crown Zellerbach Company, reports that fire hazard in Pacific Northwest forests is interfering with the company's reforestation and logging operations. Production of corrugated boxes at Crown Zellerbach's Antioch plant is also being disrupted because reduced Delta freshwater outflows have increased the salt content of the water the company takes from the San Joaquin River and the Contra Costa Canal.

The northern California ski industry has suffered from a snowfall which was running 10 percent of normal. A late February storm helped somewhat, but some companies have estimated it may take five years to recover their losses.

Bank of America economist Eric Thor predicts the drought and the Eastern freeze will combine to sap consumer confidence and thereby decrease spending. Industry layoffs will further erode that confidence and contribute to the slowdown in personal income growth, which, at three percent in January, was already the slowest in the last 18 months. Higher food and energy prices alone, Thor estimates, will boost the inflation rate one percent.

Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post has testified that if the drought limits income growth to 10 percent, Governor Brown's projected $890 million budget surplus will be cut by one-third.

Despite all of this, the picture is not expected to be uniformly black. Farmers in areas where water is plentiful, like the Imperial and Coachella Valleys, should reap windfall profits. And while tourists won't spend much time this year at ski and lake resorts, Department of Finance economist Pauline Sweezey points out they may well flock instead to the coastal areas.

Overall damages will nonetheless be substantial. State officials set the expected loss to California agriculture at between $790 million and $2 billion. Economists estimate that every $1 in gross farm receipts translates into $3 in spending for related goods and services.

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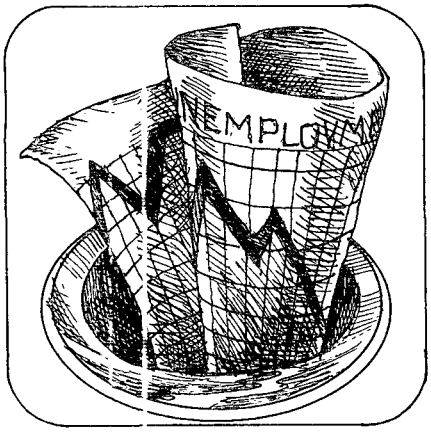

141,000 jobs down the drain

How will employment be affected?

Normally the California labor market grows at the rate of about 300,000 jobs a year, but the drought together with the Eastern freeze and natural-gas shortage is expected to change that.

Layoffs are expected to occur among farmworkers and in industries related to agriculture. Duane Hansen, spokesman for the Del Monte Corporation, says that if tomato and cling peach crops are reduced 10 percent, as the company suspects they will be, the 10 Del Monte California canneries will reduce their 7,800-person seasonal work force by 780.

Some recreational area businesses, from ski lift operators to service stations, have already been forced to reduce payrolls. Jobs in water-intensive industries such as pulp and paper mills may also be lost.

David Auslam, State Department of Water Resources economist, estimates that under the most optimistic circumstances about 57,000 California jobs will be lost this year because of the freeze and the drought. That figure, says Auslam, could climb to a maximum of 259,000, with the most probable estimate: 141,000 jobs lost.

How will food prices be affected?

Consumers will reap one short-term benefit from the drought. Cattle ranchers are selling off their stock to avoid buying feed That means an oversupply of meat on the market with a consequent lowering of prices. Reducing herds now, though, will mean a beef shortage in two or three years, with higher prices then.

Some other food prices will start rising in late spring.

California supplies 85 percent of the nation's processing tomatoes — a crop which is a high water user and which is normally grown almost entirely in areas now hit by the drought. Forecasters predict that the price of tomatoes will increase $7.50 per ton over last year.

California also grows 40 percent of the nation's fruits and vegetables and 25 percent of its total food supply. In 1975 the state had 2 million acres of fruit and nut crops, three-quarters of those in the drought-plagued Central Valley. In addition, the Central Valley produces substantially all the state's rice and nearly all its cotton. While not all vegetable and fruit crops will be affected, depending on local water supplies, many prices will rise because of the drought.

Will the drought affect the world food supply?

California supplies only six percent of the total U.S. food export. The reason: the state produces mostly luxury items — more canned peaches and catsup than wheat and corn. As a result the impact of the drought on the world food supply will be relatively insignificant.

Was California underprepared for the drought?

The State Water Project was designed to get California through a dry spell equal to the 7-year drought that occurred between 1927 and 1934 — until this year the driest period on record. Now, two years into the drought, the state says that if it's dry again next year, the project can deliver only 60 percent of its contract water to urban users and only 10 percent to agriculture.

Faulty planning? DWR Director Ron Robie says no.

"The plans assumed that there would be shortages in dry periods," he says, "and our contracts with water users say that. But we've been 40 years without a drought and people aren't used to (shortages) so they're upset."

Still, critics have accused the state of improvidence for providing water contractors with surplus water as well as firm entitlements last year. Why was that done? The state used as a planning basis last year the assumption that 1977 would be as dry as 1934 — the third driest year of record. Although that meant some cutbacks, there would still be enough water available to supply surplus water without depleting the reserves expected to be needed in 1977. Unfortunately, 1977 is turning out to be considerably drier than 1934. Now state planning calls for some water to be stored as a hedge against the possibility that 1978 could be as dry as 1977.

The Bureau of Reclamation is in worse shape. Last year the Bureau operated as though 1977 would be a normal year. Now the Central Valley Project is supplying only about a quarter of its contract amounts, with none available next year for agriculture if the drought continues.

In any event, Robie maintains that the surplus water the state sent south last year would not have helped the northern areas now facing water shortages, since no interconnecting facilities exist to transport water to those areas (although a pipeline to do just that is now in the works for Marin County).

Why have some areas been hit so hard by the drought? Lack of available ground water is one reason. Another, according to Robie, is the failure of some communities to build adequate storage facilities. Some people have accused Marin County of bringing on its own problems because voters there, in an effort to slow growth, elected not to build facilities which would have piped in water from the Russian River. Instead, the county has promoted water conservation. Environmentalists insist the new facilities would have left Marin no better prepared for the drought because increased demand would have already caught up with the added water supply.

The author is a Sacramento free-lance writer.

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Rationing, seeding, desalinization

What can be done about the drought?

The Governor has announced some measures to help the state through the drought:

- A Drought Information Center has been opened to handle inquiries and offer advice to those who request it. The Department of Water Resources is also distributing water-conservation information.
- Where possible, the state is arranging exchanges between water-abundant and water-short areas. Such exchanges are only possible in a limited number of cases, because many communities, especially those in the drought-plagued northern foothills, lack interconnecting facilities.
- Emergency water-supply loans are being administered by the state, making available loans of up to $100,000 at 2.5 percent.
- Water quality standards for the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta have been temporarily lowered so as to supply additional water to downstream users and to provide a 200,000-acre-foot hedge against a possible third dry year in 1978. The new standards reduce freshwater outflows to San Francisco Bay from 3.4 million acre feet to 2.2 million acre feet and will impair water quality for fish, wildlife, agricultural, municipal and industrial users.
- California National Guard Chief Frank Schober has been appointed by the Governor to coordinate state drought activities.

Some other actions being taken:

- Utility companies are urging conservation of electricity.
- The White House has appointed a federal drought aid coordinator to provide a link between President Carter and officials in drought-stricken western states.
- Senator Alan Cranston has proposed legislation to allow California farmers tax write-offs for drought losses.
- Some 37 California counties have been declared disaster areas — an action which makes ranchers eligible for low-interest loans and federal aid for livestock feed, and businesses eligible for 6⅝ percent Small Business Administration loans. (Cattle ranchers have complained that the Federal Disaster Administration pays only 2 cents per pound for supplemental livestock feed, and farmers say another program requires proof of a 20 percent loss before loans can be made — an impossibility until after the growing season.)

What about mandatory statewide rationing?

Whether mandatory statewide rationing will be imposed by the Governor or the Legislature is still open to question. The Governor has the power to take that action only if he first declares a state of emergency, which means it must be found that an extreme condition of "peril to the safety of persons and property" exists.

The issue is a political Typhoid Mary. Legislators and local officials would like Brown to take the brunt of criticism sure to result from such a move. The Governor contends that local water needs and necessary rationing measures can only be judged at the local level.

Water agency officials claim that statewide rationing would put people out of work and affect areas where no shortages exist. The Governor has called for a voluntary, statewide cutback of 25 percent in personal water use.

Why not seed or desalinize?

Seeding has its drawbacks. For one thing, it requires clouds, which are not always available. For another, the environmental consequences are not entirely understood. There is some evidence that seeding clouds in one area robs another of its rainfall — raising the possibility of lawsuits. The operation might be too effective, causing heavy storms and flooding. Despite those problems, some limited cloud-seeding — dropping silver iodide into clouds — is being tried in Northern California by a group of counties and by the Bureau of Reclamation.

At the moment, according to Robie, desalinization is too expensive and uses too much energy to be a practical water source. But if solar facilities are developed in the future, he says, desalinization on a significant scale might be feasible.

What is the drought doing to the forests?

Forestry officials are keeping a nervous eye this year on the state's 54 million acres of public wilderness lands. After only one winter of low rainfall, Northern California was plagued last year by a series of savage brush and forest fires. Now, after two dry winters, the California Department of Forestry calls the fire danger in the state's timber, brush and grasslands "disastrous."

Many plants are dying from lack of water. Others, are becoming susceptible to insects, disease and air pollution. As these plants succumb, mounds of volatile, tinder-dry tree limbs, leaves, brush and grass are piling up on the wilderness floor. Even coniferous trees, normally vigorous and resistent to disease, have a high mortality rate this year — a fact which bodes ill not only for this year's fire season, but for fire conditions in years to come.

By early February, blazes had already broken out in parts of Northern California which would not normally be vulnerable to fire until May or June. And the diminished water supply has hampered efforts to fight these fires. Because of the extreme hazard, some timber companies are curtailing logging activities.

Dryness is harming timberlands in other ways. The death of young trees has caused setbacks in commercial and governmental tree-stocking programs. Brush is dying back, providing fuel for fire and leaving slopes open to soil erosion. Debris will eventually wash into streams, damaging fisheries and other downstream life and property. This condition is expected to continue for several years.

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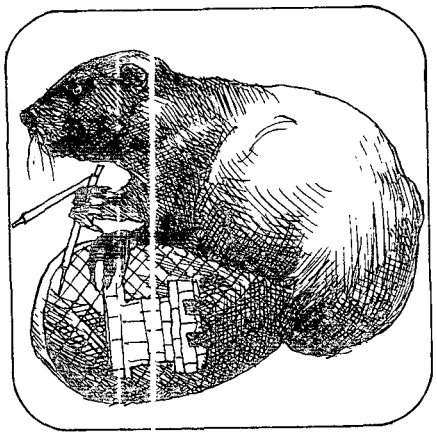

More dams in our future?

Why not build more dams?

State plans assume that the Bureau of Reclamation's Auburn Dam will be built — an assumption placed in doubt by the Carter Administration. If funds are not restored, the state will have to find additional water elsewhere. (Completion of the New Melones Dam, now under construction, is also assumed.)

The current drought is stirring up pressure from local agencies and agricultural users for still more dams to be built to guard against shortages in future dry years. But environmentalists argue that dams are an expensive and harmful way to develop water reserves. As examples they cite the proposed Marysville Dam, which, with a price tag of $1 billion, will yield only 150,000 acre feet of water. The $1 billion Auburn-Folsom South project, they add, will yield 318,000 acre feet of water a year and will eliminate 48 miles of free-flowing river while inundating 47,000 acres of land and wildlife habitat. Before more dams are built, say environmentalists, the most efficient possible use should be made of the water already available.

What's being done to assure there's enough water for the future?

There is a limit to the amount of water that can ultimately be supplied to Californians. State experts estimate about 12 million acre feet of "developable" water remains untapped — most of that in the Sacramento Valley. In addition, however, water already in use can be used more efficiently.

Since 1975 the Brown Administration has been working on a plan designed to fulfill the state's water needs through the year 2000, when state planners estimate the total water export demand from the delta will have increased to 8.4 million acre feet a year from the present level of 4.4 million acre feet.

That plan, not yet in final form, attempts to balance the interests of north and south, preserving water quality in the delta. The price tag for the program is between $2 billion and $4 billion.

Some of the key provisions:

- Federal legislation would "reauthorize" the Central Valley Project, expand the State Water Project and consolidate the federal and state water operations. The law would specify water quality needs for the delta, thereby overcoming the current problem of federal non-compliance with state regulations.
- A combined reclamation/conservation program would salvage an estimated 10 percent of the water which now goes into the ocean after satisfying various uses. The goal of that program is to save 700,000 acre feet of water annually by the year 2000 — twice the yield expected from the planned $1 billion Auburn Dam-Folsom South project.
- A version of the controversial Peripheral Canal would be built. First proposed back in 1965, the canal is designed to increase water export from the delta by diverting Sacramento River water at Hood, north of the delta, and carrying it 43 miles around the eastern delta boundary. Although a system of valves would be installed to release water to the delta, opponents fear that in times of shortages, delta water quality needs would be sacrificed to the demands of downstream water users.

When Robie was appointed to head up DWR, he ordered the project reappraised. Now the tentative state plan calls for the building of either the full-scale canal or portions of it with added storage facilities. The state says the canal facilities would yield an additional 500,000 acre feet of water annually from the delta at a cost of about $600 million.

- Natural underground storage basins would be used near the California aqueduct in the San Joaquin Valley and Southern California. Advantages: evaporation would be lower than with surface storage and water would be kept near the place of use.
- Off-stream reservoirs would be built in Northern California to store surplus water in wet years.
- Some rivers would be put into the federal wild river system as a guarantee to environmentalists that no new dams would be built on those waterways.

The state is also making plans to overhaul California's water rights laws. Those laws, which haven't been revised since 1913, have some built-in incentives for wasting water:

- A landowner who fails to use the ground water under his land can lose his right to do so.
- The holder of a state water rights license can lose that license if he fails to use water for a period of three years.
- Throughout water rights law runs the principle that whoever uses the most water has established the strongest right to that water.

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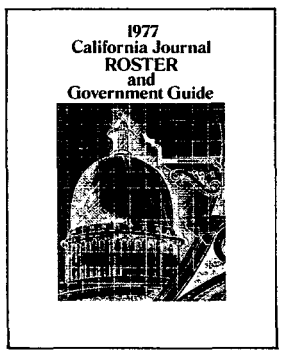

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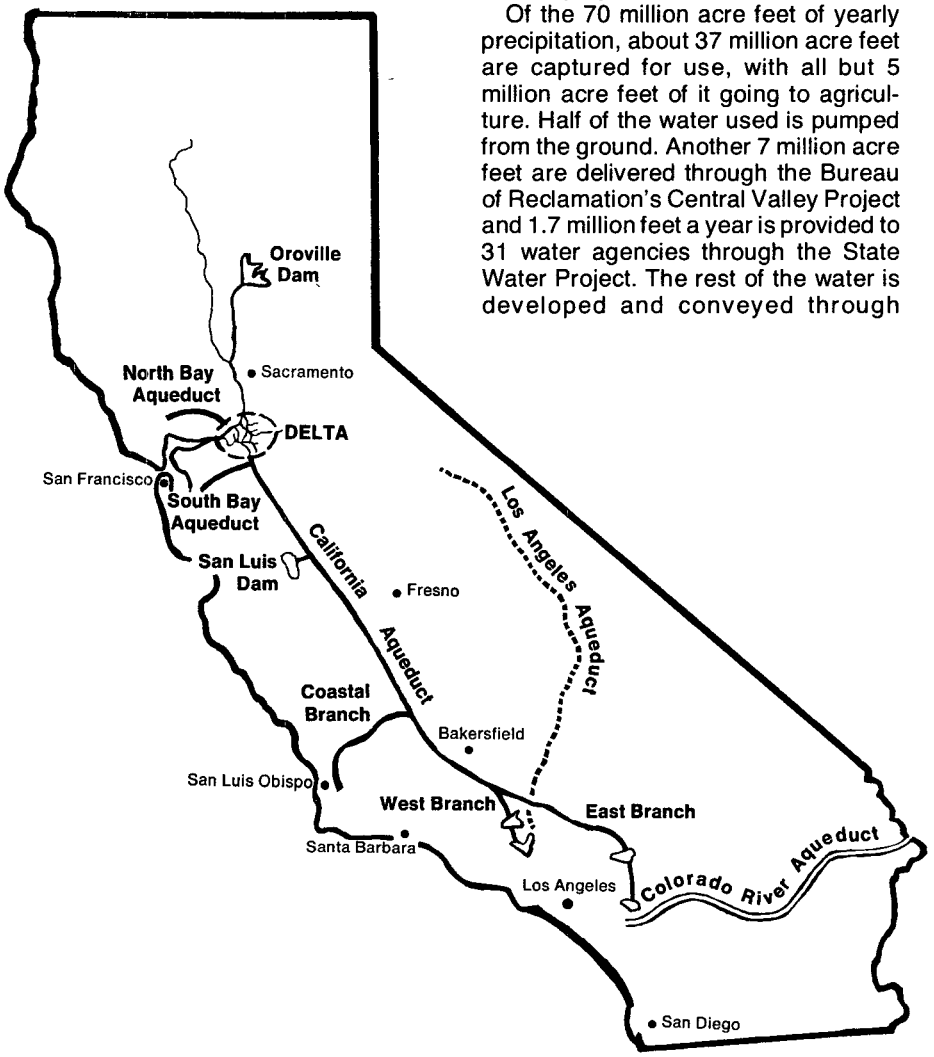
California Water: Where it comes from, where it goes

In a normal year, 70 million acre feet of water splash down on California. Some of it soaks into the ground and the rest finds its way into rivers, streams, lakes, reservoirs and the Pacific Ocean. (An acre foot is the amount of water needed to cover one acre of ground to a depth of one foot and equals 325,851 gallons.)

Three-fourths of that precipitation occurs in the northern third of the state, while 80 percent of the water need occurs in the southern two-thirds. Thereby hangs the tale of California water — movement of water from where it is to where demand has been created.

The nucleus of the California water system is the ecologically fragile Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta — 1,100 square miles of marshland formed between the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers before they empty into San Francisco Bay. The delta is the common pool from which the state and federal projects draw their water.

Of the 70 million acre feet of yearly precipitation, about 37 million acre feet are captured for use, with all but 5 million acre feet of it going to agriculture. Half of the water used is pumped from the ground. Another 7 million acre feet are delivered through the Bureau of Reclamation's Central Valley Project and 1.7 million feet a year is provided to 31 water agencies through the State Water Project. The rest of the water is developed and conveyed through locally-run facilities including San Francisco's huge Hetch Hetchy project, which transports water from Yosemite Park; the Los Angeles aqueduct, which supplies water to Los Angeles from the Owens Valley; and the Colorado River aqueduct and All-American Canal, which carries water to Southern California from the Colorado River watershed.



Originally planned as a state endeavor, the Central Valley Project was authorized by the Legislature in response to the drought which began in 1928. It was taken over in the 1930's depression by the Bureau of Reclamation when the state was unable to provide the funds to build it. Its main facilities are the Shasta, Folsom, Trinity and Friant Dams, with New Melones and Auburn under construction. From those reservoirs the CVP delivers Northern California water to farmers in the San Joaquin Valley through the Delta-Mendota, San Luis and Friant-Kern Canals.

The State Water Project was authorized with the 1959 passage of the Burns-Porter Act. A $1.75 million bond issue to assist in financing the project was approved by the voters in 1960. The state project is a series of reservoirs, pumping plants, power plants and nearly 600 miles of aqueducts stretching from the Sierras to Mexico. The principal reservoirs are Lake Oroville in Butte County, which stores water from the Feather River watershed, and the San Luis Reservoir in Merced County, which stores water from both the state and federal projects.

The North Bay Aqueduct of the state system is designed to supply water to Napa and Solano Counties, while the South Bay Aqueduct supplies Alameda and Santa Clara Counties. Through the California Aqueduct flows water from the delta to agriculture in the San Joaquin Valley and over the Tehachapis to Southern California.

The Legislature specified that the purpose behind the SWP is to convey "surplus" Northern California water to the San Francisco Bay area, the San Joaquin Valley and Southern California. Exactly what is meant by "surplus" has caused some dispute, but the state defines it as that water which is in excess of what the project is legally required to deliver in the north.

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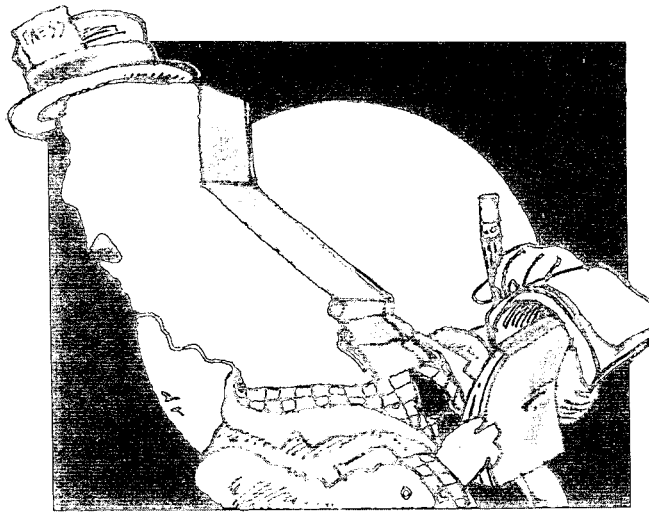
The new generation of newspapers - metropolitan, underground and non-campus



FAREWELL TO BIAS, BUT WHERE ARE THE OPINIONS?

By Ed Salzman

With relatively little effort, it can be established conclusively that California's radio and television stations are doing a miserable job of covering state government and politics — and by design. With perhaps two or three exceptions, coverage ranges from grossly inadequate to non-existent (see "The Hidden Campaign," *C. J.*, June 1976). But what about the state's major newspapers? Do they provide sufficient information so that voters can make well-informed judgments at election time, or are they following the lead of the broadcasters in deciding that the public does not want to read or hear about such a dull subject?

A decade or two ago, politics was probably the prime fare of California newspapers. The political editor held one of the most prestigious jobs in the newsroom, and he (and occasionally she) often worked directly with the publisher. That generally is not the case today. Many newspapers no longer commit so much staff time and expense for detailed coverage of the political scene. Most of the medium-sized dailies have stopped staffing statewide campaigns, except when candidates arrive at their doorsteps.

The "me-generation" attitude has taken a toll on the attention given to stories on politics and government. Some newspapers take the television attitude that politics is dull and are much more concerned with helping readers cope with the problems they encounter in their daily lives. It is no longer a come-down for a political writer to give up the campaign trail and become a general reporter once again, as was recently done by Bill Boyarsky of the *Los Angeles Times*. Now the so-called investigative reporter is the star of the newsroom.

The big three

This may suggest that political coverage in California has taken a sharp turn for the worse in recent years. That is not necessarily the case. Until 20 years ago, California politics was dominated by a consortium consisting of the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Oakland Tribune*. The publishers and political editors of these newspapers jointly made many of the state's major political decisions. The news columns were used to make sure their candidates were elected — and they usually were. It was not too difficult in those days to pick up any major newspaper in the state and determine, without reading the editorial page, which candidates the papers were supporting.

Since that time, the bias factor has been eliminated or significantly reduced in most major California newspapers. The *Times*, under publisher Otis Chandler, was one of the first to break the tie between the news columns and the publisher's political preferences, and other publications followed the leader. It happens that this change in political coverage has coincided with a quiet revolution that has been under way in the newspaper industry in California as a new generation of editors and publishers has taken command and has tried to find ways to cope with competition from the electronic media.

These newspapers have been searching for new identities. In some cases, the pages have undergone drastic changes in typography and makeup. Coping columns such as "Action Line" have been given prominent positions. Old-time society pages have been made into family or "scene" sections. There is far greater emphasis on entertainment and what to do with leisure time. Each newspaper has reevaluated its political coverage in light of this new orientation, with differing results.

The *Times-Chronicle-Tribune* bond was broken in 1958 when the *Times* and the *Chronicle* found the gubernatorial candidacy of the *Tribune's* William F. Knowland hard to swallow. Since that time, Knowland's son, Joe, has taken command at the *Tribune* and has instituted a new policy that has resulted in more balanced coverage of politics. But with that came an end to the *Tribune's* intensive coverage of statewide campaigns.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* has attempted since 1958 to maintain balance in its news columns, with fair success, but the level of commitment to political news has not been strong. In the last year, there has been a wholesale change in the political personnel at the *Chronicle*, and the results thus far have generally been beneficial, with former city hall reporter Jerry Burns operating out of San Francisco and Larry Liebert and John Balzar out of Sacramento. They replace the dean of California political writers, Earl Behrens, who retired, and a succession of others who wrote politics for the *Chron* in recent years, including Jackson Doyle, Peter Weisser, Mike Harris and George Murphy.

Four on one

In terms of circulation, the *Times* and the *Chronicle* are the dominant newspapers of the state. A *Times* reader can find stories on just about any aspect of state government and politics (usually starting on page three or on the first

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page of the second section). Yet, there is no state or local political columnist, and remarkably little analysis of what the governmental events mean and how they interact with one another. The *Times'* political reporters based in Los Angeles are Richard Bergholz, the shrewd veteran, and Kenneth Reich, who tells readers more than they could possibly want to know about whatever he's covering. In addition, the *Times* has a large bureau in Sacramento that files several major governmental and political stories each day. During the 1974 gubernatorial campaign, there was a time when four *Times* reporters converged on a single candidate to write on different aspects of the campaign. If there is a failing in the *Times* coverage, it is that the reader is given too many words to digest in one sitting.

That hardly is the case with any other newspaper in California with the exception of the *Sacramento Bee,* which for years viewed itself as a journal of record on state government and politics. The *Bee* and the other McClatchy newspapers, the *Fresno* and *Modesto Bees,* have been changing dramatically since C. K. McClatchy assumed editorship of the chain from the late Walter Jones. The Fresno and Modesto papers have even switched from afternoon to morning publication. The *Sacramento Bee* would also go a.m., except for legal problems that would result from the shift. The *Sacramento Union,* which could be put out of business by a morning *Bee,* has already filed a suit against McClatchy largely as a preemptive tactic.

A few months ago, Richard Rodda retired after many years as McClatchy political editor, and he has been replaced by former managing editor Martin Smith, who will probably emphasize analysis rather than straight reporting in his columns. The *Bee* maintains a large Capitol bureau, but it has undergone so many changes in recent years that coverage has not settled into a pattern. The *Sacramento Bee* has deemphasized the journal-of-record system and is trying to take a look at the big picture. It is also trying to provide balanced coverage of campaigns, and is, like the *Times,* providing increased exposure of statewide campaigns.

Not on the bus

Only a few years ago, it was standard procedure for the *Bee* and most of the other medium-sized newspapers in the state to assign reporters to cover candidates for governor. Now the *Bee* is one of the few. No longer are political writers for the *Oakland Tribune,* the *San Jose Mercury-News,* the *Long Beach Independent* or the *San Francisco Examiner* regularly among the boys on the bus during political campaigns. This is the most significant negative development in California political reporting during the 1970's. This means that more and more papers are depending on United Press International and the Associated Press to cover politics, and these wire services themselves are trying to cut costs by reducing coverage, especially in primaries. The wire services often are forced to employ relatively inexperienced reporters on the campaign trail, although Sacramento bureau chiefs Doug Willis of AP and Carl Ingram of UPI personally handle as many major political stories as possible.

Here's how some of the medium-sized newspapers are handling politics these days:

- **San Diego Union and Tribune** — These Copley newspapers have been undergoing a major transformation since the late James Copley was replaced by his widow, Helen Copley, as publisher. James Copley was one of the old-fashioned propagandistic publishers, with a strong conservative Republican philosophy and several sacred cows. Helen Copley has announced that she wants coverage to be balanced evenly and that there are no longer untouchable institutions. The morning *Union* and the *Evening Tribune* each usually have two political reporters but no regular correspondents in Sacramento (although the *Union* is in the process of hiring one). During the 1974 gubernatorial campaign these newspapers were among the most faithful in watching the candidates, and the *Tribune* made an effort to provide interpretation in addition to the daily routine. The *Union* news operation is being run by Gerald Warren, a White House press officer in the Nixon Administration, and former *Union* political editor Peter Kaye has returned to the paper after several years handling Republican campaigns and reporting for public television. Political coverage is definitely on the upswing in San Diego.
- **Los Angeles Herald-Examiner** — Ten years of labor strife, which turned this once-successful newspaper into a shell, have now come to an end at the *Her-Ex.* During the last decade, political coverage has been spotty at best, and it remains to be seen whether the one-man political staff (Jack Brown) will now be augmented. In terms of politics (and almost anything else), the *Herald-Examiner* has made itself as irrelevant as the typical radio station.
- **Riverside Press-Enterprise** — This is one of the high-quality newspapers in California, with bureaus in Washington and Sacramento. It still relies heavily on the wire services for state political coverage and does an intensive job of covering Riverside-area politicians.
- **Santa Barbara News Press** — Former Associated Press Sacramento reporter Jerry Rankin handles the political writing for this highly regarded paper. But Rankin stays close to home and lets the wire services cover the overall scene.
- **Sacramento Union** — This morning newspaper tries to keep pace with the large staff of the competing *Sacramento Bee* and does fairly well with two political reporters, Al Donner and Dan Walters. The *Union* tends to concentrate on a few issues at a time and has not yet entirely lost the reputation for bias it carried under its last owner, the late James Copley. The new owner John McGoff, has brought the paper out of the financial doldrums, but the *Union* still has a Republican flavor that isn't limited to the editorial page.
- **San Francisco Examiner** — The city's afternoon newspaper has been undergoing a complete revision under new editor, Reg Murphy. The long-time political editor, Syd Kossen, is now the chief editorial writer, and a new political reporter, W. E. Barnes, is handling the beat. Barnes has shown a writing flair but little depth of knowledge about California politics. The veteran Sacramento bureau chief,

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Jack Welter, retired, and the new Capitol team of Gale Cook and Dennis Conatny is taking a fresh look at the workings of the state's political system. But the newspaper has not yet shown any indication that it plans to give California politics an especially high priority.

◦ **San Jose Mercury-News** — This newspaper used to have some of the best political coverage in the state. It selected excellent reporters and allowed them to do whatever was necessary to cover the beat well. But Harry Farrell has quit politics to write a general column; Lou Cannon has long since gone to the *Washington Post*, and Larry Stammer is with the *Los Angeles Times*. The new San Jose-based political writer Dale Lane stays close to home, and the paper shares a Sacramento correspondent with its sister Knight-Ridder paper in Long Beach.

◦ **Long Beach Independent Press Telegram** — As is the case with most of the mid-sized papers, political editor Bob Houser rarely travels out of the community. When capitol correspondent Larry Stammer left the *San Jose Mercury-News* to join the *Los Angeles Times*, Bob Schmidt of Long Beach was assigned to cover Sacramento for both newspapers, thus reducing the depth of political content in both newspapers. There have been signs that there will be major changes in both the San Jose and Long Beach newspapers now that the Knight organization is taking command of the former Ridder properties in California. (The Knight and Ridder chains merged last year.)

The dollar factor

Because many of these newspapers are still going through identity crises, it may well be that there will be significant changes in the way some of them cover politics by the time the 1978 gubernatorial election rolls around. But if the present trend continues, medium-sized papers will continue to ignore the statewide races. Several California papers have been feeling financial pressure, and political coverage can be expensive, especially during campaign season.

Few newspapers pay enough attention to the most important element in the political structure — the voters themselves. The *Times* and the *Bee* make an effort during election season to sample voter sentiment. But, according to press critic Ben Bagdikian, there is an even greater need for the media to go out into the community and assess public concerns and translate them to the candidates and make sure that the politicians address these specific voter needs. Again, such a process is time-consuming and expensive. In the media mentality of today, it also doesn't produce the kind of articles editors think they need to compete with television.

If there is one overriding flaw in California newspaper coverage of politics, it is the almost total lack of incisive columns on state politics. There are dozens of columns being written each day from every conceivable angle about the people and issues that constitute our national government. But there is very little analysis and opinion being made available to Californians about the state political scene. There are no regular state political columnists on either the *Times* or the *Chronicle*, the largest newspapers in the state. Columns are occasionally produced as a spinoff by reporters whose main function is to write for the news pages. And those newspapers — a great many, unfortunately — which depend primarily on the wire services, get little in the way of analysis and interpretation because AP and UPI stick rigidly to straight news.

While it is easy to generalize about television and radio because they have almost universally decided not to cover state government and politics, this is not the case with newspapers. Political coverage in some is better than ever, especially in those which have gone straight after years of propagandizing readers. There are others, with San Jose an obvious example, that have been in definite decline. But even the worst of the state's major newspapers does a much better job of informing the public about the political scene than the best radio or television station.

Role of the alternative tabloid: prodding the major 'straight' dailies

By JOHANNA VEUMAN

Reports of its death are greatly exaggerated. True, the underground press in California is no longer the proud beacon of revolution that turned the mid-sixties breathroughs of culture and technology into a celebration of The Movement. Still, the alternative press lives; in some parts of the state, it thrives.

"We try to cover things not covered or not covered well by the daily press," reported Deborah Redmond of the successful *Santa Barbara News and Review*, a five-year-old alternative paper owned collectively by the staff. "Our aim is not to be better than the straight press," added Richard Coles of the *Santa Cruz Independent*, the newest alternative in that beach-and-university town, "but to be different."

The difference eludes definition, even among devotees. "We're not an alternative paper," said Jerry Roberts, political writer for the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, Bruce Brugmann's urbane version of tabloid-sized journalism. "We're a liberal weekly," continued Roberts before leading an employee strike against the *Guardian*. "Brugmann believes in the electoral process." Indeed, the *Guardian* claims it delivered 11,000 votes to George Moscone in the 1975 mayoral election via an unusually laudatory endorsement (despite a subsequent retraction).

If alternative and straight press now share a reporting and editorial interest in electoral politics, the difference between them is further blurred by a joint appetite for so-called investigative journalism. The *Los Angeles Vanguard*, an orphan of the once-alternative *Free Press*, scored a big exclusive with a story about a telephone company's complicity with government agencies in tracking the names and addresses of persons with unlisted phone numbers. The story, with the aid of a press conference, was picked up by the nothing-if-not-overground *Los Angeles Times*, which credited the *Vanguard* in a Sunday lead, a coup for an alternative paper then only in its ninth week.

But investigative journalism is not calculated to please advertisers, leaving small newspapers, both straight and alternative, economically vulnerable. It is almost commonplace to hear

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of undergrounds that "sold out" in the face of financial pressure. The most noteworthy example is the *Los Angeles Free Press*, once the dean of California underground newspapers.

The narcotics-agent caper

Founded in 1964 by fifties — radical Art Konklin as "a window on the community," the *Free Press* eventually fell into the hands of San Diego porno publishers Don Partrick and Tony Boal. Advertising pressures had little to do with Konklin's demise. His *Free Press* folded at the hands of government harrassment, he claims. "We really became the alternative press at Century City," Konklin reported, recalling an "extra" issued by the *Free Press* on the Vietnam War protest held at the hotel doorstep of President Lyndon B. Johnson. But if Century City put the *Freep*, as it was called, on the map of Los Angeles success stories, it was the 1969 publication of the Bacon List that heralded its downfall. The list, containing the names, addresses and phone numbers of undercover narcotics agents with the Los Angeles Police Department, started with Konklin's belief that "there shouldn't be a secret police."

It was a costly credo. The state and local law-enforcement community joined in a criminal suit against Konklin for receipt of stolen government documents. The same forces also filed a $5 million civil suit against the editor for invading the privacy of the narcotics agents and a $10 million suit against the newspaper for obstructing justice. More importantly, the state included the newspaper's printer in the legal action, and the *Freep* became too hot to handle. "Ultimately" Konklin claims, "we were totally vindicated." But the price was the newspaper. The lawsuits drained Konklin's money. The developing political consciousness of some writers (who split off to form *The Staff*, a graphic delight but a financial disaster) and their opposition to sex ads, strained the paper's *raison d'être*. The sale was inevitable.

Ironically, it was a lawsuit that brought the *Bay Guardian* its financial security, affording a move to more spacious offices and a weekly date with the printer. The multi-million-dollar suit pitted the Davidish *Guardian* against its straight competitors, the Goliathan *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Fransicso Examiner*. The two above-ground papers had decided in 1965 to merge all but their editorial departments. The *Guardian*, embarking on the first court test of the 1969 Newspaper Preservation Act that exempted failing papers from anti-trust laws, cried "Monopoly."

Two Brugmann victories

On the eve of the trial, with what he called "great reluctance," Brugmann settled out-of-court for $500,000. The costs were getting prohibitive, he explained, and the settlement money was already earmarked for attorneys, printers and real-estate agents. But some of his employees, smelling a sell-out, organized a union and promptly went on strike, demanding, among other things, a 25-cent-an-hour raise. The word bitter is too mild to describe the passions that existed on either side of the *Guardian* picket line. The strikers, who demanded a look at the newspaper's books, were most disturbed by Brugmann's capitalistic, top-down management. "He told us that if we wanted a collective we should go to China," said Roberts. Brugmann suspected the strikers of a conspiracy with the *Chronicle-Examiner* forces to bring the *Guardian* down. The union eventually was decertified, and Brugmann won the conflict.

Nevertheless, Brugmann is bitter about being alone and misunderstood — about being the only literate alternative in California during the 1960s rush to revolutionary jargon, about being the first pioneer in investigative journalism while both the overground and underground press slept, about being grouped in articles like this with what he calls "sex rags like the *Berkeley Barb*."

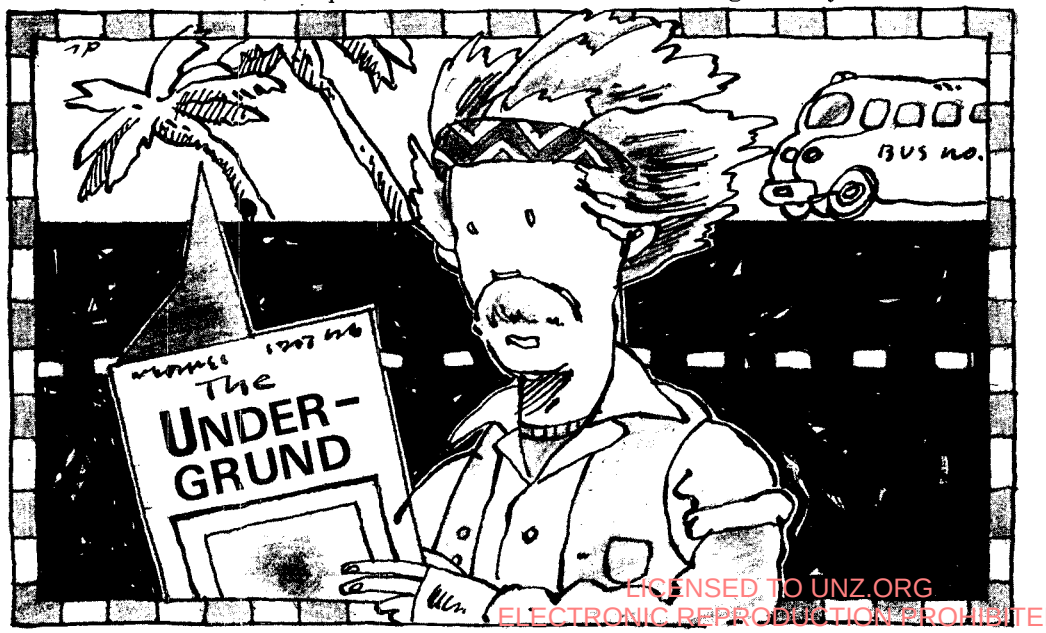
The *Barb*, once called the world's ugliest newspaper, is struggling against becoming an ideological anachronism in its own time. "We've really gotten away from that pigs-versus-people mentality," reported editor Ray Riegart. "We're not into the knee-jerk radicalism of the '60s. We're taking a hard look at different issues." But the '60s hang on at the *Barb* in the form of a pull-out section of adult ads that dwarfs the rest of the paper and in the form of a lawsuit between founder Max Sherr and his common-law wife for possession of some $500,000 in assets. If the *Barb* is not the alternative Brugmann envisions (the feeling is mutual; Riegart calls the *Guardian* an "upper-middle-class rag for swinging singles"), there is a new breed of alternative that might be.

The new breed, including solid community papers like Oakland's *East Bay Voice*, prides itself on a professional attitude toward journalism, without what it deems the arbitrary and dishonest restrictions of the straight press. "People here are journalists," said Cole of the *Santa Cruz Independent*, the first alternative newspaper distributed free to all residents and financed solely on advertising, "but we don't have any pretense of being the newspaper of record."

Almost all of the credible alternative papers report that their existence alone often moves the local straight press to look at new issues or at old ones differently. "If this town had a decent paper," said Cole, "then politically, we wouldn't be here." Santa Barbara's Redmond claims that the daily *Santa Barbara News Press* "has changed its coverage to compete with us."

Heritage on the left

An ad for the alternative *Los Angeles Vanguard* boasts that the paper has "no ties to the real-estate gangs, the banks, the law-enforcement industry, the utilities, or any of the other special interests that have run Southern California for the past 100 years. But the alternative press does have special interests. It's just that they're not corporate ones. The gay and feminist movements have launched alternative presses all their own, complete with their own internal struggles over capitalism and politics.



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The role of police agencies in the anti-war movement, it is safe to say, put the then-alternative *Los Angeles Free Press* on the map, much as the issue of Manhattanization is the common thread of Brugmann's *Guardian* and its readers. But the basic characteristic that distinguishes the alternative press from its straight alternative is its heritage on the left of mainstream California politics. The same technology that precipitated the tabloid press could just as easily have been exploited by followers of the John Birch Society.

That the new, inexpensive tools of newspaper production were grabbed instead by the Weather Underground and the Students for a Democratic Society, today's alternative editors believe, is a commentary on the above-ground press. "The right never needed an alternative," said Riegart of the *Barb*. "They've already got one."

The author, a former underground-newspaper and Sacramento legislative reporter, now writes for a straight newspaper in Jackson, Mississippi.

Can the Daily Cal find happiness as Berkeley's community newspaper?

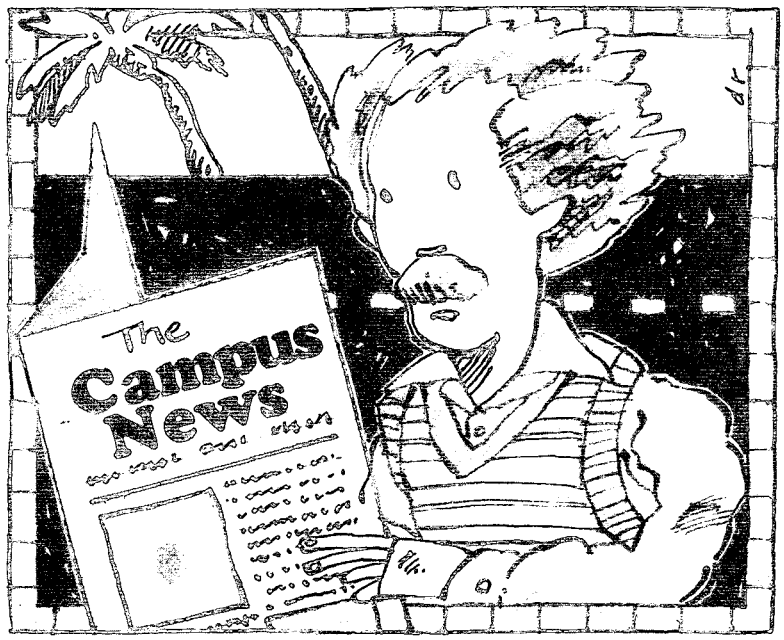
By CHRIS BOWMAN

In the final days before the November general election, student reporters on Berkeley's *Daily Californian* joined the entourage of national press following Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter on their last campaign stumps through California. It's a rare, exciting experience for college journalists to rub elbows with big-name reporters on a presidential campaign. But for the *Daily Cal*, one-time University of California campus newspaper now pushing to become Berkeley's major local daily, traveling statewide with politicians has become a routine part of news coverage.

It is one part of a long-haul move away from the student newspaper image of "kids playing games," and toward a more professional and objective publication. A newspaper whose editors' left-wing bias went so far as to bring upon it charges of inciting a city riot six years ago, the *Daily Cal* now faces a difficult adulthood of "responsible" journalism.

The *Daily Cal* was the official Berkeley campus journal from 1873 until May 1971 when, in commemoration of the 1969 People's Park riot, it printed a page-one editorial encouraging Berkeleyans to pull down the hurricane fence and retake the vacant university lot the community had tried to convert into a park. There was a riot and several arrests the following weekend. The campus publishers board fired the three editors who approved the editorial. Two others quit.

In the ensuing fray, the *Daily Cal*, at the urging of both the student journalists and campus administrators, moved to become independent of the University, locating its offices off campus and beginning to sustain itself. By so doing, it became one of a handful of independent student newspapers in the country, along with the *Harvard Crimson*, *Yale Daily News* and *Stanford Daily*, to cover not just the campus but also the community.



Independence day

There was a difference in the paper "practically from day one of independence," recalls Richard Hafner, campus public affairs officer and former *Daily Cal* editor. The writers turned from advocacy journalism and started to reflect conventional reporting values. In retrospect, a fifth-anniversary editorial states, ". . . that People's Park editorial seems to be naive and self-indulgent. But we are free now to put out our newspaper, naive or not, without University meddling." There was virtually no record of repression, Hafner says, but mere association with the University in those days kept the paper in a constant state of rebellion.

The change in the students' attitude toward their role as journalists was due partially to the change of events. Fiery front-page editorials and inaccurate, one-sided stories disappeared from the paper as the Vietnam War and pace of protest wound down. The awesome task of surviving in the Berkeley marketplace without annual subsidy from student fees made the editors quickly realize that running a newspaper is a serious business. New expenses such as rent, office equipment and a circulation manager, plus a deliberately cautious attitude toward spending in the first year resulted in stern budget-minding.

With the help of a $20,000 University loan, the paper — now run by a non-profit student corporation — has since nearly tripled its 1971 operating budget to $650,000, one of the largest of any college-type newspaper in the country. A major boost came two years ago when the paper created a typesetting subsidiary called Heliographics. It has generated more than enough revenue from outside work to compensate for advertising losses during the summer months, buy expensive new typesetting equipment and raise editorial salaries. There also was sufficient money to begin daily publication during final-exams weeks and summer session when most college papers reduce or shut down operation. Editor Jeff Rabin, a 21-year-old history senior, is reluctant to discuss specific figures, but says advertising is up 35 per-

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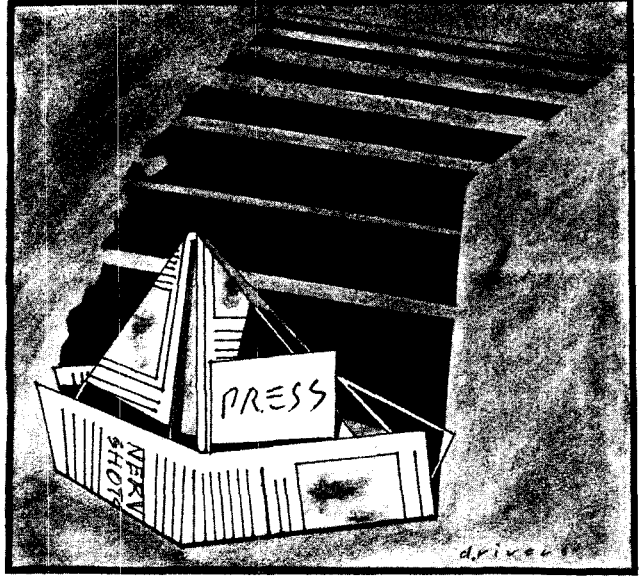

cent from last year and that the paper's financial strength is "phenomenal."

While the *Daily Cal* is well on its way to financial independence, the newspaper is just beginning to assert its editorial autonomy in the Berkeley political arena. UC journalism professor Joseph Lyford applauds the paper's move into the community, but complains that its reporters (several of whom are journalism students) often have a limited view of the city. "They are surrounded by people on the fringe who are all too willing to hand them predigested versions." Downtown offices of Berkeley's leftist political coalition (which can hardly be considered "on the fringe" of Berkeley's political spectrum) lie one floor below the *Daily Cal* newsroom three blocks south of campus.

The Berkeley Citizens Action, which has had measured success in electing progressives to all levels of public office in the past decade, built some of its muscle on *Daily Cal* news coverage, voter registration publicity and political endorsements. Likewise, the *Daily Cal* has depended, sometimes too heavily, on information and opinions from the left. "Our relationship has verged on the symbiotic," says John Mintz, editorial page editor. "They would say we were their paper and felt entitled to share their ideas with us daily." If the paper has a strong tendency to give unquestioning support to progressives, it has usually given more conservative officeholders a rigorous grilling. "That's a Berkeley phenomenon though," says Rabin. "There are knee-jerk responses to things here."

Advocacy journalism

While advocacy journalism has not entirely disappeared from the news columns, the *Daily Cal* today is more scrupulous about getting both sides of the story, if only because its editors have come to realize the power of their press in Berkeley. "I think the more responsible we become, the more persuasive our paper will be," says Rabin. "I don't want to be taken for granted."

The paper recently cracked its long-standing if informal alliance with leftist members of Berkeley's city council when it editorialized in support of a city permit for a downtown McDonald's hamburger franchise. Editors explain McDonald's would help employ more young people, expand the city's tax base and serve inexpensive food "that's not all too bad nutritionally." Editors also threw ice on their cozy relationship with Ronald Dellums, Berkeley's progressive congressman, when it resisted pressure last November to back Dellums-endorsed East Bay BART director Dick Clark, who was under investigation at the time for alleged misuse of his expense account. Instead, the paper supported Oakland lawyer Art Shartsis who subsequently won Clark's seat. Rabin believes Clark would have been re-elected with the blessing of the *Daily Cal*, "but we had a lot of questions about his propriety."

The BART race is one example of the *Daily Cal*'s voice in Berkeley politics. A primary source of news for about 50,000 people in the community, the paper closely reflects and can influence the majority sentiment in the city. City officials believe its editorials have consolidated the student vote enough to have made the difference in the outcome of many non-partisan local ballot measures in recent years.

Nearly all candidates for state and county offices last fall sought the backing of the *Daily Cal*. Newly elected Berkeley Assemblyman Tom Bates calls the paper his most important endorsement. To give every office seeker a fair shot, the editorial board interviewed Bates alongside his two opponents — a departure from past practices. "This newspaper has had a large responsibility for the rise of the Dellums' machine," says Rabin, referring to the Congressman's large influence in Bates' race and other East Bay elections (See *CJ*, August 1976.) "But we're working hard now to counter the tendency to endorse on a knee-jerk basis with the Dellums gang."

Polarized atmosphere

The *Daily Cal*'s drive to become more professional undoubtedly has been made difficult by the highly polarized atmosphere in which the paper operates. Voting patterns in most local elections are sharply divided between the student-downtown precincts and the more conservative and affluent neighborhoods in the Berkeley hills. Conflict and hostility are commonplace on the city council where a minority of progressives block most action by the more conservative majority officeholders. Threats of violence, shouting matches, name-calling and rumors designed to embarrass public officials are all part of the Berkeley political scene. Police are called in to keep order at some meetings. "In Berkeley," says city reporter Don Lattin, "to compromise is radical. Berkeley is losing its prominence as a city of innovation because the ideological rigidity of the two groups is blocking change."

The outlook of the present *Daily Cal* staff largely reflects the 1970s campus mood of becoming more realistic about problem-solving and less concerned with ideology. A major concern is the city's economy, plagued by, among other things, an abundance of non-taxable property owned by UC Regents and a myriad of religious institutions. There is also "the longest running hassel" of finding a decent place to live near the University, says editorial writer Mintz. Urban problems of crime and traffic, and a housing shortage that has caused rents to skyrocket and students to pack in more roommates, have made living in the city unpleasant for many.

Rabin points to these kinds of problems to illustrate the close interrelationship between the city and the University, and to explain why the *Daily Cal* gives student readers heavy coverage of urban affairs and politics. Inside the 12- to 30-page tabloid newspaper have been detailed in-depth analyses of virtually every issue and candidate on a given ballot, including a rent-control initiative and city council candidates in the coming city election. The paper, which employs a staff of 85, devotes entire pages to weekly reports on minorities, consumerism and the city's economy, and publishes a Friday magazine supplement on Bay Area arts and entertainment. City Hall and police are covered regularly. The *Daily Cal* sent writers to the national Democratic and Republican conventions last year and employs a full-time state Capitol correspondent during the legislative session.

Editors contend that to muster community support for candidates, the *Daily Cal* has to show its readers that it is

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interested enough in the candidates to travel with them and develop an authoritative view. "That's what you call serious journalism," says W. E. Barnes, a political writer for the *San Francisco Examiner* who believes the *Daily Cal* provides some of the best political coverage in the state. "Its really not a college newspaper."

The *Daily Cal*'s community orientation is likely to stay intact despite the constant turnover of editorial leadership. Editors see an enormous opportunity for the paper to command an increasingly larger presence in the city because of the current vacuum in the local news market. The *Berkeley Gazette*, the only other local newspaper, carried a circulation of only 10,045 in September 1975 in a city of more than 120,000, as compared to the *Daily Cal*'s 25,000. (The *Gazette*, an afternoon daily published by the *Richmond Independent*, is also struggling to change its image, which editor Terry Sellards describes as an "ultraconservative paper for little old ladies in the Berkeley Hills" to one that is more in tune with the interests of the predominantly liberal Democratic city.)

Rabin believes politically aware University readers deserve better coverage of their city than what the *Gazette* and larger Bay Area newspapers have afforded them. Neither the *Gazette* nor the *Daily Cal* consider each other serious competition in news or advertising. "After all," says Rabin, "we serve a different audience than the *Gazette*. The students and the University are the part of Berkeley that hasn't and never would read the *Gazette* because of its stigma."

On campus, student leaders and administrators have questioned whether the emphasis on community has payed off for the readers. "You'd put this to the test if you started charging for the paper," Hafner says. Until recently, the *Daily Cal* has been lax in aggressive, thorough coverage of its natural constituency, the students and staff. Student activities, important education stories and research accomplishments have been treated lightly while readers are provided with detailed coverage of the city's political battles.

The *Gazette* scooped the *Daily Cal* on some key campus stories last year, including the federal government's threat to withdraw some of its research funds from UC because of an alleged inadequate research accounting system. And no *Daily Cal* reporter has yet investigated the University's move to substantially increase student registration fees next fall. Campus activity is not as dramatic as it was during the turmoil of the late 60s and early 70s. It is difficult to drop back from the protest of a Free Speech Movement or the bloodshed of a People's Park riot. City Council meetings are often more contentious and easier to cover than the University which is cloaked by layers of policies, programs and personnel.

What direction the *Daily Cal* will take after a changeover of its present leadership remains uncertain. A 10-year contract which paved the way to independence specifies that the newspaper must remain a virtual all-student operation, thus assuring a campus orientation. That agreement, however, expires in four years. If today's editorial board is any indication of future direction, then it seems safe to say that the *Daily Cal* will keep a relatively even balance between campus and city coverage and will continue to be far more representative of the campus than the Telegraph Avenue drifters and leftist political groups who surround the paper's staff. If the *Daily Cal* is to make a serious bid for journalistic leadership in Berkeley, it will probably have to print two editions — one for the campus and one for the community. But, despite the maturity of the *Daily Cal* since independence six years ago, the staffers and editors are a long way from reaching that goal.

The author is the South Lake Tahoe correspondent for the Sacramento Bee *and a former Capitol reporter for the* Daily Californian.

California CAPSULES

United Farm Workers, Teamsters sign pact, end decade-long fight A five-year jurisdictional agreement was signed by the United Farm Workers and the Teamsters Union, ending the decade-long fight over the organizing of agricultural workers in 13 western states. Although the exact wording of the agreement was not made public, the main points are: the Teamsters will stop organizing field workers, tractor and other on-farm drivers who are not covered by the National Labor Relations Act; existing Teamster contracts, numbering about 100, will be honored until expiration when, with a few exceptions, the Teamsters are expected to walk away and let the UFW seek representation elections; an arbitrator will settle disputes over the meaning of terms in the agreement; both unions will honor each other's picket lines and cooperate in seeking stronger farm-worker legislation. If this initial agreement works, negotiations for a national pact will start in 1979.

Assemblyman Sieroty wins state Senate seat over two opponents Assemblyman Alan Sieroty, a 10-year legislative veteran, was elected to the state Senate seat vacated by Congressman Anthony Beilenson. Sieroty, with just over 55 percent of the vote, defeated Republican television producer Ralph Andrews and conservative Democrat William Kurdi. The major campaign issue was Sieroty's voting record on crime bills. Republican state Senator H. L. Richardson campaigned vigorously against Sieroty and contributed $40,000 to Andrews through his Gun Owners of California organization.

Fair-trade price laws on liquor upheld by court The State Court of Appeal overturned a ruling by the state Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board and upheld the constitutionality of California's 37-year-old minimum-price liquor laws. Last December 2nd, the ABC Appeals Board had ruled that the fair-trade laws on liquor, wine and beer were invalid because they violated a 1975 amendment to the federal Sherman Antitrust Act which repealed a section allowing states to pass fair-trade laws. The Court of Appeal said the retail price restrictions "are part of a state economic regulatory scheme and therefore not subject to the Sherman Act." The case most likely will be appealed to the state Supreme Court, which has ruled on three occasions that fair-trade liquor prices are valid. All three decisions were issued prior to the 1975 Sherman Act amendment.

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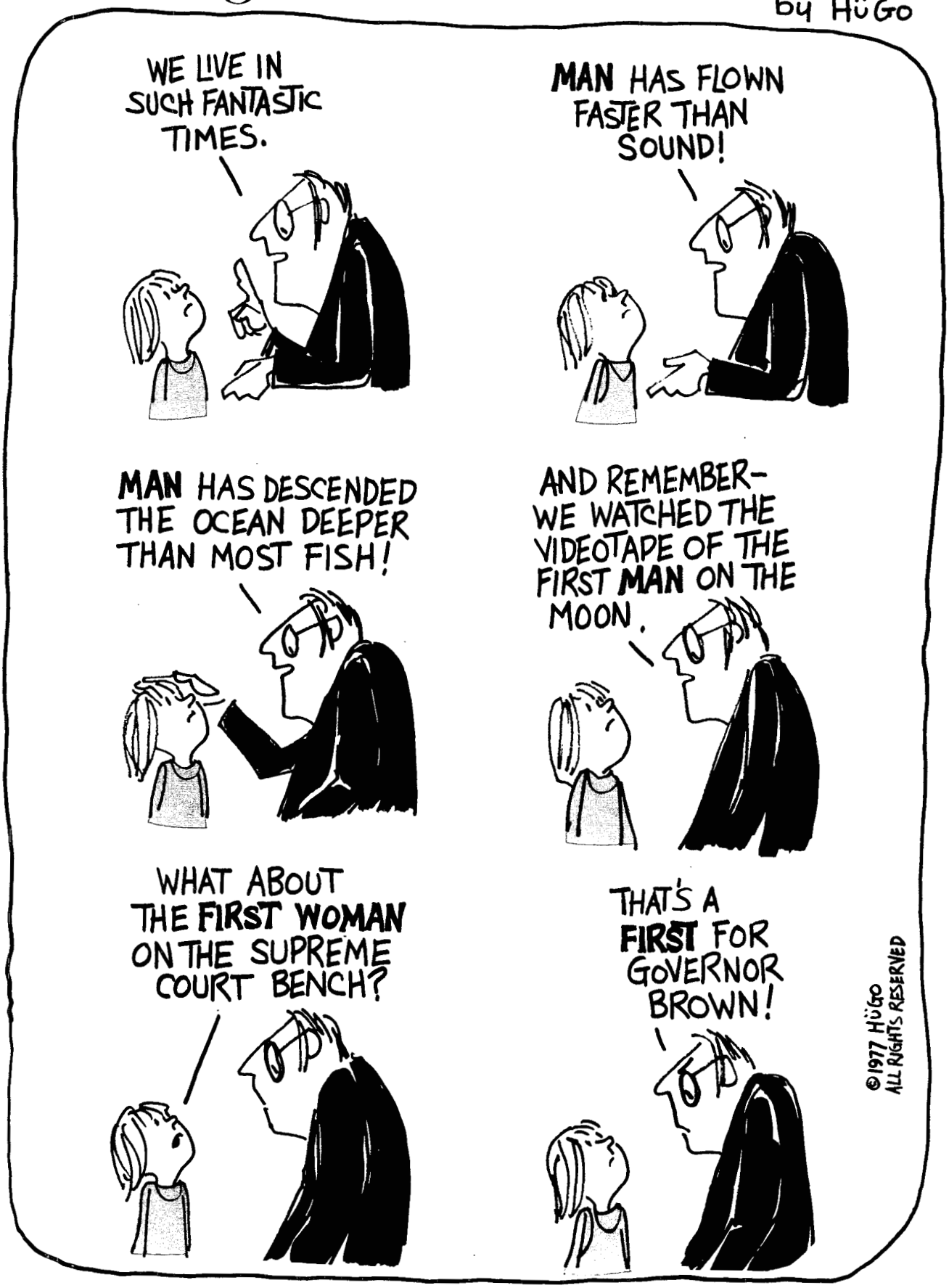
Caucus

by HüGo


WE LIVE IN SUCH FANTASTIC TIMES.
MAN HAS FLOWN FASTER THAN SOUND!
MAN HAS DESCENDED THE OCEAN DEEPER THAN MOST FISH!
AND REMEMBER- WE WATCHED THE VIDEOTAPE OF THE FIRST MAN ON THE MOON.
WHAT ABOUT THE FIRST WOMAN ON THE SUPREME COURT BENCH?
THAT'S A FIRST FOR GOVERNOR BROWN!
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POST MORTEM BY EX-GOP CHAIRMAN

Tale of the Ford-Reagan contest: an epidemic of strategic blunders

Among Reagan Republicans, outgoing state Republican chairman Paul R. Haerle may well be the most despised politician in California. Haerle was viewed as a traitor by Reaganites last year when, even though a former Reagan staffer, he supported Gerald Ford for president. Upon completion of his term as chairman, Haerle, a San Francisco lawyer, wrote these views of the Reagan-Ford conflict.

By PAUL R. HAERLE

Historians have often noted that one of the main causes of conflict among nations is the imperfect appreciation one sovereign holds of the premises or intentions of another. This same principle has its corollary in political warfare, and the bitter struggle within the Republican Party between the insurgent Ronald Reagan and the incumbent Gerald Ford was a classic example.

Perhaps this struggle was inevitable, given the incumbency of one man and the ambition of the other. In the larger sense, however, there are no inevitables in politics, and it seems clear in retrospect that various by-products of the struggle, if not the struggle itself, were in large measure due to the drastically different perceptions and premises each side held.

The first perception was a misperception, that of the Ford White House concerning Reagan's intentions. In late October, some three weeks before Reagan's formal announcement, and three weeks after an SOS from embattled Ford campaign chief Howard (Bo) Callaway had brought California political pro Stu Spencer to Washington, White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen initiated some cocktail party small talk with the inquiry, "Say, now, do you think Reagan is really going to run?"

The finance Mafia

Simply stated, the White House first misjudged Reagan's intentions and then grievously underestimated the tenacity of the man and his supporters, his skill as a campaigner, and the damage an unrestrained primary assault could do to the Presidency. Even to the extent that Reagan was seen as a problem, a sub-misperception grew: how to handle it. The answer was to preempt any potential Reagan base by systematically enlisting the support of GOP bigwigs from among senators, congressmen, governors, state GOP chairmen and the like. In the execution of the preemptive strike strategy, Callaway has to be given high marks; a lot of "good names" were brought on board fast and with appropriate fanfare. The problems were that the preemptive-strike tactic didn't allow time for much of anything else, such as organizing in places like New Hampshire and Florida, and assumed that the Reagan campaign would likewise be built around "good names." It would not.

The clearest instance of the misdirection of the preemptive-strike tactic was the Ford camp's assumption as to who in California was influential with Reagan personally. Generally accepted theory had it that the three dominant influences on Reagan were, in order of importance, his wife, the Holmes Tuttle-led "finance Mafia," and his staff, including regulars such as Mike Deaver and itinerants such as Lyn Nofziger. Circa 1970 or even 1974 this was sound, and the people Callaway relied upon viewed things through glasses of that period. The result was that an inordinate amount of attention was paid to the likes of Tuttle, Justin Dart, William French Smith, etc. in an effort, presumably, to persuade them to dissuade Reagan from running and/or to get their support for the President. Tuttle, for example, was inveigled into stopping off in Chicago on a New York-Los Angeles trip, and a White House aide was dispatched to meet him at an airline lounge and discuss White House patronage and personnel policy as it concerned California — a subject always close to Tuttle's heart.

The problem with all this was that both the Ford tacticians and the Tuttle group shared a mistaken premise — that the latter really mattered as much as before. It was not that Reagan personally would ever exclude these old friends from his political entourage; it was that campaign manager John Sears and others now close to Reagan had figured out, correctly and before the Ford camp, that the new federal campaign-financing law rendered fund raising a la Tuttle ("Jus and Jack and I are each taking a table for $10,000, and we assume you'll want to do the same") substantially obsolete.

In short, whether because of personal considerations or the imperatives of the new federal law, the assumptions of the Ford camp as to how to influence Reagan were very much outdated. The finance group had been demoted to a poor third in influence with Reagan behind Nancy Reagan and a mixed staff of political buccaneers and ideologues led by John Sears. And Sears was not about to get overly concerned about Callaway's preemptive strikes.

The second basic misapprehension of the Ford White House concerned the whole fabric of conservative Republican politics, and specifically what made that whole movement tick and why.

The essence of conservative Republican politics, both the 1964 and 1976 editions, was a mixture of middle-class anti-establishmentism and a latent hostility on the part of Westerners and Southerners against domination by the party's Northeastern wing. At both points of time it was simplicity itself to elevate Nelson Rockefeller to the position of *bête noir*, because he personified "bigness" in government and business as well as the patronizing Northeastern establishment. And if any one thing exasperated party conservatives

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in 1974 as far as Gerald Ford was concerned, it was the appointment of their pet hate to the number two position in the country after they had thwarted his national political ambitions a decade earlier.

This apparent marriage of the Ford Administration and the establishment played right into Reagan's hands because, as anyone could have discovered by reviewing the 1966 Reagan-Brown campaign, no one is more skillful at campaigning against the establishment than he. What may have fooled Ford's Washington-based advisors is that, while Reagan the office-holder could be quite comfortable with the establishment, Reagan the candidate understands perfectly how to appeal to the latent anti-establishment feelings of middle-class Americana.

The rhetorician

Something else that the Ford White House didn't understand (and Reagan did) was the important emotional element of the conservative movement and its responsiveness to symbolism, particularly of the rhetorical variety. To "true" conservatives what is important is not what is possible, not what the "on-the-whole" record of a man has been, but what he has said he is for or against and, more importantly, *how* he has said it.

Any fair comparison of Reagan the Governor for eight years with Gerald Ford the Congressman for two decades and President for two years would reveal that both are rather conservative, pro-business, pro-middle class but quite pragmatic politicians. And the incumbent President, long removed from the challenges of campaign demagoguery, sounded just like what he was.

Not Reagan. Exit in 1975 the man who could, with great equanimity, appoint moderates like Cap Weinberger, Ike Livermore and Spencer Williams to the highest administrative responsibilities in the state and make deals with the Democratic assembly speaker, Bob Moretti. Enter the "pure" conservative calling for the party to reject "mere pastels and paint instead with bold colors."

On Reagan's side, there were not so many misperceptions as premises constructed "for this time only." First and foremost was his premise that he really wasn't challenging a genuine incumbent, but only a "caretaker" President. Whether Reagan actually believed this is open to question, and it may be that people like Sears sold the premise as the essential condition to getting Reagan's attack syndrome working. Whatever, Reagan set out to obliterate the incumbency advantage of the President, and was remarkably successful in so doing — to the ultimate benefit, arguably, of James Earl Carter. Reagan's prior loyalty to Republican incumbents generally and Richard Nixon specifically proved no bar to this process. The rationalization apparently was that a President who arrived in office by virtue of the 25th Amendment was somehow entitled to substantially less deference than a President who arrived there by virtue of Article II, Section 1.

This brings us to the second area wherein Reagan successfully constructed premises to suit his own convenience. Reagan the politician has an unfailing ability to rationalize almost anything he does or anything that happens to him. But the internal rationalizing process by which he went from the 11th Commandment of 1966 to the assaults on an incumbent President of his own party in 1976 must have been something to behold. The necessary first step was the conclusion that he was dealing with something less than a true incumbent. Presumably a second step in the process was that the 11th Commandment only barred personal attacks and he was engaged in much loftier pursuits.

Whatever the steps, Reagan was in his natural element campaigning as the "out" against the "in." Ford, not used to campaigning, much less campaigning against a fellow Republican, was forced into a defensive posture against the best political-attack artist in the business. In retrospect, one is led to wonder whether, by spring 1976, Reagan saw any essential distinction between the permissible limits of campaigning against (1) incumbent Democrat Governor Pat Brown in a 1966 general election and (2) incumbent Republican President Gerald Ford in a 1976 primary election. A comparison of the tactics used suggests that he did not.

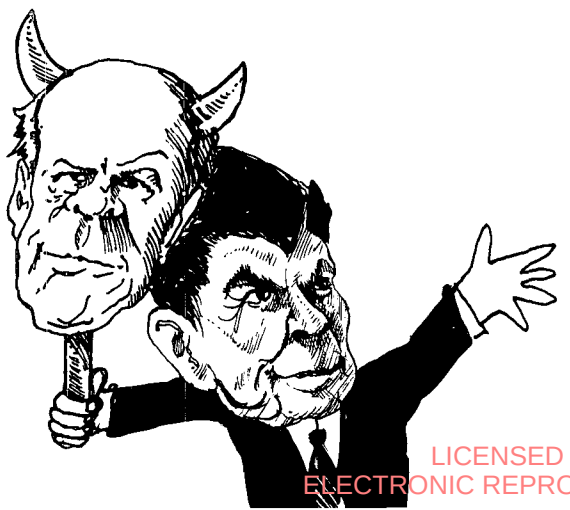
Reagan's third and final effort to construct convenient operational premises was not nearly as successful as the first two. This was, of course, his hastily considered acceptance of a staff *fait accompli* by the naming of liberal GOP Senator Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania as his prospective running mate. The astonishing extent to which Reagan, always so easily programmed by staff, failed to check into Schweiker's political philosophy, voting record or general lightweight senatorial reputation were well-told at the time. What needs to be added is the degree to which Reagan failed to convince his southern conservative supporters that he could designate Schweiker and still campaign as an uncompromising conservative.

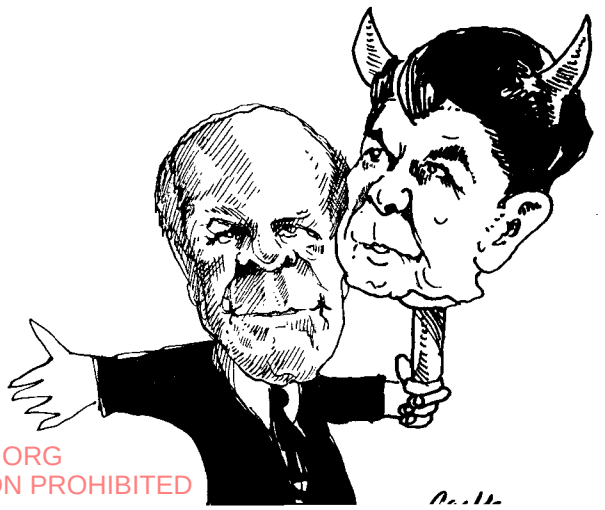
Southern sharpies

Reagan did not recognize the basic difference between Republican conservatives of the South and those of the Rocky Mountain states and Southwest. The plateau conservatives are still in their political swaddling clothes and believe, generally, in the ultimate triumph of Principle. The tidewater conservatives have "been there before," don't get carried away by messianic urges, and are generally far more pragmatic. As with all pragmatists, they can accept compromise from an elected official but tend to gag when the compromise is denied or rationalized as being in the truest traditions of the Cause.

So with the Schweiker affair. The obvious reason for the whole ploy was sound: try something, anything, to break

Continued on Page 137





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LOBBYIST BEEMAN — A BROWN OR A BURTON MAN?

The burgeoning budget of the state's Washington office

By MARTIN SALDITCH

Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. is not the only member of his administration who has mixed politics and religion with some degree of success. Josiah (Joe) Beeman, the Governor's man in Washington, has served the United Presbyterian Church, Congressman Phillip Burton of San Francisco and, now, Brown during his 14 years in the nation's capital.

Beeman switched his allegiance to Brown in January 1976, taking charge of the state's Washington office after a year of indecision by the then-new Governor over whether to continue the operation started by his father, Pat Brown, in 1963.

In this case, Jerry Brown evidently decided that less was not more. The Washington office's current annual budget is close to $130,000, about double the $65,000 allocation during the final year of the Reagan Administration. The office has increased from three to five employees and moved from the White House area to larger quarters in a building near Congress.

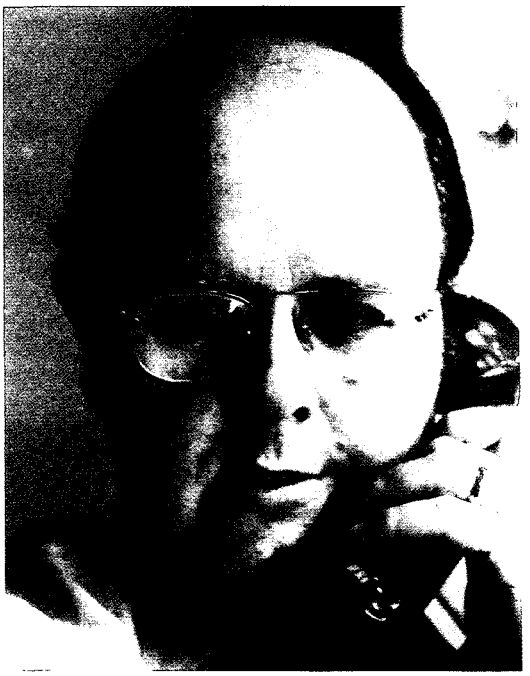
Beeman, 41, gets $38,000 annually as chief of staff. He is aided by Traer Sunley, a legislative assistant; Elinsor Schwartz, an energy specialist; Noel Gould Jr., an intern who deals with citizen problems; and Judy Lemons, a secretary-receptionist. (Beeman notes that the operating cost of the office is probably "more than covered" by the state revenues brought in from several peripheral activities — supplying state income tax and driver-license renewal forms to California residents temporarily in the area. The office also provides maps and other tourism services.)

Pat Brown's aide

By contrast, Irvine H. Sprague, Pat Brown's Washington representative from 1964 to 1967, was assisted only by a secretary. Sprague, now chief aide to the house Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, says his main asset was his closeness to the then-governor and, thus, his ability to speak authoritatively for him.

Beeman does not appear to be that close to Jerry Brown, having only a casual relationship with him before becoming the Governor's Washington representative. "I first met Jerry at the governor's mansion in Sacramento in 1962 when his father was governor," Beeman recalls. "And I supported him in the Democratic primary for governor in 1974." Beeman, in fact, says he primarily deals with Gray Davis, Brown's executive secretary, and state agency chiefs. "I talk to the Governor," he reports, "when I visit Sacramento (about four times a year) and when he comes to Washington" which in the past year was due more to Brown's presidential candidacy than state matters.

Martin Salditch is the Washington correspondent for the Riverside Press Enterprise.



Despite considerable experience in local, state and national politics, Beeman emphasizes that he does not get involved in partisan political activity on state time and was not involved in Brown's presidential campaign. Beeman did take an unpaid leave-of-absence from the Washington office for three weeks before last November's election to direct the Democratic get-out-the-vote operation in California. Although Jimmy Carter won the presidency without California, losing the state by one percent of the vote, Beeman doesn't think the Carter people will hold Jerry Brown personally responsible for that. As far as California issues are concerned, adds Beeman, "the relationship (between Carter and Brown) will be a good one," particularly in contrast with the prior Republican administrations in Washington.

Beeman sees his main role as transmitting the views of the Governor and his agency chiefs to Congress and the federal administration, and vice versa. "It's a two-way street," he says. "We're the eyes and ears of the state government here." But why can't that be done by California's two senators and 43 representatives? "They may or may not have the same views as the Governor or the state agencies on various issues," replies Beeman. "The House members primarily represent the views of their districts, not necessarily statewide interests. They can't do everything that has to be done, like transmitting information to state agencies."

The same view is taken by the University of California,

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the State Universities and Colleges and the state Department of Education, which have their own Washington offices. Los Angeles, San Diego, Long Beach and a group of Orange County cities also have Washington staffs. The only exception to the trend is the state Legislature, which in 1974 closed the office established during the 1960s expansionist regime of Assembly Speaker Jesse M. Unruh, now state treasurer. Beeman estimates that 20 state governments now have Washington offices, with New York, Texas and new Jersey having larger staffs than California.

Substantial federal grant expansion is the main reason for the growth in Washington representation by state and local agencies. In the last fiscal year, the federal government spent $41.3 billion in California in operations and grants, as compared to the current $13 billion state government budget.

Beeman points out that one 1976 law he helped get through Congress saved the state government over $15 million annually in administrative costs by permitting California to continue to pay the cash value of food stamps to needy recipients rather than distribute the actual stamps. Other measures which the California office lobbied for last year include renewal of federal revenue-sharing with state and local governments, which passed; and a pro-environmentalist Clean Air Act extension and an offshore-oil bill, which did not. Beeman says the latter two bills are on top of his agenda for the 1977 session.

In dealing with Congress, Beeman mainly works with like-minded leaders of the California delegation, such as Senate Democratic whip Alan Cranston, House Public Works Committee chairman Harold T. (Bizz) Johnson of Roseville; and Phil Burton, who, although defeated for House majority leader, is still vice chairman of the House Interior Committee, which has jurisdiction over federal parks and other lands. One of Beeman's current objectives is to secure legislation enlarging the federal redwoods forest along California's northern coast.

Born and reared in San Francisco, Beeman attended Reed College in Portland, Oregon, and did graduate work in political science and international relations at San Francisco State University. A large, bespectacled, monkish-looking man (six-feet, three-inches tall, 285 pounds), Beeman has a low-key personality which appears to have meshed well in both the political and religious worlds. He describes himself as a "liberal, activist Democrat" who has been more successful in getting others elected to public office than himself.

Member of the Marks club

In 1962, while education director of the Northern California Council of Churches, he lost an Assembly race in San Francisco to liberal Republican Milton Marks, now a state senator. In 1968, Beeman was defeated in his bid for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors after he had been appointed to serve out one year of an unexpired term.

He was more successful in organizational politics, becoming chairman of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, president and national committeeman of the California Federation of Young Democrats and vice president of the California Democratic Council. He was active in the presidential campaigns of Lyndon Johnson, Robert Kennedy and George McGovern. In Washington, Beeman was administrative assistant to Congressman Phil Burton from 1963 to 1966, secretary of international affairs and, later, director of the Washington office of the United Presbyterian Church from 1969 through 1974, and staff director of the House Democratic Caucus in 1975, while Burton was its chairman.

The Governor's selection of Beeman as his Washington representative was somewhat unexpected because Beeman had always been viewed as a "Burton man." Brown has not been close to Burton personally or politically — the Governor's government-spending views being decidedly more conservative. Beeman says his job was arranged directly with Brown, and not through Burton. "My loyalty, of course, will be to the Governor," he adds, "although I hope to retain my good relationship with Phil." Like the Governor, Beeman has no plans to return to religion.

The high court under Rose Bird

How much difference will there be in the decisions of the California Supreme Court now that Rose Elizabeth Bird has been confirmed as the state's first female chief justice? For awhile, at least, the change in command will probably hardly be noticed. In tandem, the voting patterns of Bird and new Associate Justice Wiley W. Manuel will probably not be drastically different from the two men they replaced, former Chief Justice Donald Wright and Associate Justice Raymond Sullivan. Wright and Sullivan were moderate to liberal. Based on their public careers, Bird and Manuel belong in the same section of the judicial spectrum, with Manuel the less liberal of the two.

The big change in the court will come when Governor Brown eventually gets an opportunity to replace suspended Associate Justice Marshall McComb, probably the most conservative member of the panel. It can be assumed that whomever Brown appoints will be far more liberal than McComb. This new justice could combine with Bird and holdover associate justices Mathew Tobriner and Stanley Mosk to form a four-member liberal majority. But that presumes that Bird will be a liberal, and high-court justices can be much different than their prior images once they don the robes of office.

Bird and Manuel were confirmed last month by the three-member Commission on Judicial Appointments, Manuel in a routine manner and Bird on a 2-1 vote following two public hearings. It was no secret that Brown had consulted with the commission members, Acting Chief Justice Mathew Tobriner, Appellate Justice Parker Wood and Attorney General Evelle J. Younger, before announcing Bird's nomination. With Tobriner for and Wood against, the key was Younger. There is speculation that Brown named former-Younger-aide Manuel to get the second yes vote.

For Younger, the problem was political. His prospective opponents for the Republican gubernatorial nomination next year railed against the Bird nomination. A vote to confirm could hurt him in the primary, but a vote against her could make him unelectable in the general election. Younger, it seemed, had no easy way out. In the end, he issued a statement that should go down as a lesson in the way the political system is supposed to work:

"I will do so (vote for confirmation) reluctantly because I believe there are many California judges better qualified by training and experience to assume this high office. But it is the Governor's opinion, not mine, that is significant. The law does not require that he appoint a judge or the best-qualified or even a well-qualified person. My limited responsibility requires only that I determine if Rose Bird is qualified. Absent any significant evidence to the contrary, I am compelled to find that she is. . . . In the Governor's behalf, it should be noted that he deceived no one. During his campaign for governor, he described the kind of appointments he would make. Rose Bird fits the mold. The decision as to the kind of chief justice California would have was, in effect, made by our voters in November, 1974."

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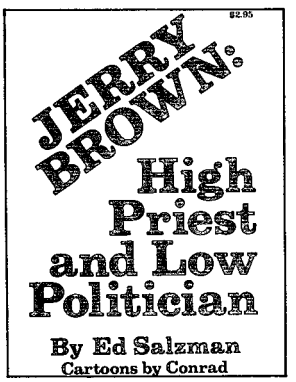

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CONSCIENCE VERSUS CONSTITUENTS

The newsletter that makes voters deal with lawmakers' dilemmas

By Leah Cartabruno

Most questionnaires voters get from their elected officials are so slanted toward what the politician wants to hear that, as an opinion indicator, they are almost meaningless. Some representatives use questionnaires to justify a bill just introduced, while others frame one-line questions with yes or no choices that will protect them from controversy at election time. Many constituents find these simplistic forms a turn-off, but others faithfully fill them out in the vain hope their opinions will count more than some lobbyist's.

Enter Santa Barbara Assemblyman Gary Hart, who rejects the usual newsletter forms as propagandistic and, instead, treats his district mailings as the "closest, most direct communication" with constituents available to him. While conceding that newsletters and questionnaires help officials get re-elected, Hart looks upon them as an opportunity to discuss and explain issues that other representatives wouldn't bring up on a bet.

Hart's last questionnaire posed six situations dealing with a legislator's ethics and judgment on the best use of time. The assemblyman wrote the questions himself, then went over them with his staff to smooth out any wrinkles or misunderstandings. Hart scorned yes-or-no answers as unfair because voters can't be expected to think of all arguments for and against an issue. Instead, he constructed his six situations "to give them some insight" into the conflicts facing each legislator. As a result, some constituents reported fighting among themselves while attempting to answer the questions.

Heated discussions

One woman wrote that she, her husband and three teen-age sons all had discussed the questions, and each came up with a separate set of answers. She reported that the "discussion" was oc-

The Hart Questionnaire

Legislative ethics

Every public officeholder must decide on questions of compromise and conscience, and those decisions are usually the toughest of all. As a member of the Assembly, what would you do in the following situations?

Situation One: As an individual you oppose legalized gambling. You believe it can lead to organized crime and promote the kind of "strike it rich" fever that leads desperate heads of households to squander family necessities in order to take "just one more chance." However, you have the clear impression that most voters in your district favor legalized gambling as a way to raise money for the state. One of your colleagues has introduced a bill to legalize gambling.

What would you do?

☐ 1. Vote your conscience. No one expects you to agree with the majority of your constituents all the time, and on questions such as this you have to do what you think is right.

☐ 2. Vote for the bill since that is what most of your constituents want.

Situation Two: Local elections will soon be held in Santa Barbara County and Tom Wagner, a man you've known and respected for many years, is running for sheriff. Wagner asks for your public endorsement.

What would you do?

☐ 1. Stay out of it. It's best for state officials not to get involved in non-partisan elections. Besides, as an assemblyman you have enough to worry about without getting involved in local politics.

☐ 2. Give Wagner your endorsement. A legislator should be free to support other candidates for office and try to get the best qualified people in local government. Besides, it's a free country and, as an individual, why should you be afraid to publicly express your opinion?

Situation Three: For some time you have been seriously troubled by the lack of recreational opportunities for senior citizens who are on fixed incomes, and you have recently introduced a bill to provide these seniors with a Golden Bear Pass, enabling them to use state park facilities free of charge. This measure is strongly opposed by the state Park Department which is concerned about revenue losses and the difficulties of administering the pass system.

The bill faces its toughest hurdle in the Assembly Park Committee. You have polled the members and find five supporters, five opponents and one undecided. The undecided member says he will vote for your bill if you will support one of his: a measure to construct a new training facility for state employees. You have previously investigated this project and feel the present facility is adequate and the undecided legislator just wants to build a monument to himself. Under normal circumstances you would never support such a bill, but your measure will be dead if it doesn't get out of committee.

What would you do?

☐ 1. Accept the deal. With two million California senior citizens benefiting from this bill, it is too important to risk failure in committee. Compromise is an inevitable part of the political process.

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casionally heated, but thanked Hart for letting them in on some of the decisions he had to face. The family had previously supported Hart's opponent. Others sent accompanying letters explaining in detail how they would have handled the situations. One reason some legislators don't like complex questionnaires is that they produce extra mail that must be answered on top of tallying the responses themselves.

From examination of the puzzlers, it is easy to see why Hart's constituents took the questionnaire seriously. But some were intimidated — such as those who declined to answer question number three because they were senior citizens and answering would be "a conflict of interest." Some see intrigue behind a question, such as the man who insisted the sheriff in question number two's endorsement issue was a real candidate soon to run for local office Others confused the philosophical issue with the example used in a given question. From the situation described in question number three, for example, many constituents thought Hart really did have a senior-citizens bill in the hopper. Perhaps the most interesting responses came in response to a problem in which the legislator is faced with the choice of going to

a small dinner for a powerful committee chairperson or attending a briefing on bilingual education. Some didn't want Hart involved with anything connected with bilingual education, while others devised diabolical plots worthy of television scriptwriters. The social white lie is alive and well in Santa Barbara.

Of the 92,000 questionnaires mailed, Hart received a "normal" response of 12,000 answers. The strongest answers were directed at situation three, in which almost 80 percent of the voters directed Hart to refuse the deal offered in order to get the senior citizens bill through committee. Nearly 63 percent of the respondents urged the assemblyman to vote his conscience on legalized gambling rather than vote his constituency. The closest vote came on situation six, with a 10-percent majority directing Hart to go to the powerful chairperson's birthday party rather than a bilingual education briefing.

The results:

Situation one	— response one	62.7%
	response two	37.3%
Situation two	— response one	35.3%
	response two	64.7%
Situation three	— response one	20.3%
	response two	79.7%
Situation four	— response one	42.5%
	response two	57.5%
Situation five	— response one	38.3%
	response two	61.7%
Situation six	— response one	55.4%
	response two	44.6%

Despite the suspicious comments, the responses were overwhelmingly enthusiastic. Most voters were appreciative of Hart's effort to share his dilemmas, and they probably won't be surprised if he follows their advice on the choice between maintaining his 100-percent attendance or attending the Fiesta parade. As one zealous constituent wrote as a postscript to a four-page, handwritten letter: "Give 'em Hell ~~Harry~~ Gary!"

☐ 2. Refuse the deal. In the long run, your integrity is more important than passage of your bill.

The best use of time

You will find as a member of the Assembly that conflicting demands on your time force you to constantly evaluate your priorities and responsibilities. What decisions would you make in the following situations?

Situation Four: The Legislature is in recess and the Assembly Land Use Committee is holding interim hearings in San Francisco to learn more about earthquake predictions and review new construction techniques, which have been suggested to minimize earthquake damage. If you attend the hearings, you will have to spend two days away from Santa Barbara, where you have been tentatively scheduled to meet individually with six constituents and to speak to a group of local insurance brokers about how new state laws will affect them.
What would you do?

☐ 1. Skip the hearing. You have little enough time to spend in the district anyway, and the people who elected you have a right to meet with you as often as possible.

☐ 2. Given Santa Barbara's potential for earthquake damage, you should participate in this important legislative hearing.

Situation Five: To date you have a 100 percent attendance record. You now find that being present at the annual Santa Barbara Fiesta Parade will mean missing a day of voting in the Assembly. You check the bills scheduled to be voted on that day and are assured by other legislators that your vote will not be critical on any of these measures.
What would you do?

☐ 1. Go to the Fiesta Parade. Although voting is a primary responsibility of a legislator, it is appropriate to participate in Santa Barbara cultural and civic activities on special occasions.

☐ 2. Skip the parade. A legislator should always be in Sacramento when the Legislature is in session. Ceremonial responsibilities just aren't worth missing votes.

Situation Six: Senator Martin is celebrating her 60th birthday, and you have been invited to a small dinner party in her honor. As chairperson of the Senate Finance Committee, she is one of the most powerful members in the Legislature. To date you have not had an opportunity to get to know the Senator very well, and the party provides a rare opportunity for you to establish a personal relationship with her that can be of legislative benefit in the future.

However, the Department of Education has scheduled an informational briefing on the same evening reviewing the success of the bilingual education program, which a number of your constituents have been asking you about.
What would you do?

☐ 1. Accept the party invitation, realizing that good personal relationships are essential to being an effective legislator. You can read a summary of the Department of Education discussion later.

☐ 2. Decline the invitation and attend the briefing, where you can ask questions personally and get more firsthand knowledge than you would from any report.

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The 7-ring circus to preserve the Santa Monica Mountains

By Ian Campbell and Faye Hove

The Santa Monica mountains are the focal point of a 25-year struggle among Southern California environmentalists, developers and metropolitan residents. That struggle involving unusually high economic and environmental stakes is now approaching flashpoint. The area is one of Southern California's last major open-space resources near the large metropolis. A 1972 study for the state Legislature's Joint Committee on Open Space Lands listed these mountains as one of ten high-priority areas in need of an open space program — along with Monterey Bay, Lake Tahoe and the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta.

But authority for land use in Malibu and the Santa Monica mountains is fragmented among at least seven agencies — all planning simultaneously. No one governmental agency has the power to determine the area's fate. As a result, competing interest groups find themselves frustrated by the mishmash of overlapping jurisdictions and conflicting policies. The planning efforts underway this year include:

- *The state and regional Coastal Commissions, given new life and continued authority over much of the area's development last year.*
- *A new general plan being drafted by Los Angeles County planners, due for completion by July.*
- *An areawide sewerage study by the Las Virgenes Municipal Water District, a special agency that provides water and treats sewage for residents mostly on the inland Westlake-Agoura-Las Virgenes side of the mountains.*
- *A report by a citizens' advisory committee to CalTrans on the area's transportation problems.*
- *The fledgling efforts of the Berman Commission, charged with preparing a comprehensive plan including a unique cost-benefit analysis.*
- *Ongoing efforts by environmentalists to make the area into a federal urban park.*
- *Development plans by the state Department of Parks and Recreation for three new Santa Monica mountains state parks.*

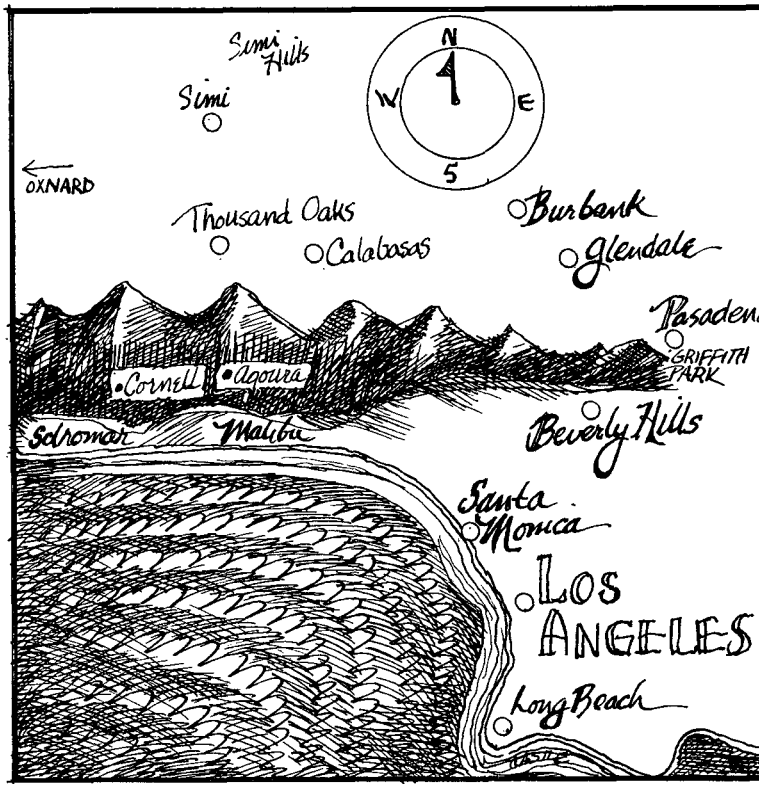
What makes the area subject to such inspection? The Santa Monica mountain range borders a strip of golden coast with the climate of the Cote d'Azur and a stretch of rugged mountains rolling inland to the Ventura Freeway. Extending from Mugu Lagoon in Ventura County to Griffith Park in the City of Los Angeles, it is the last — albeit much wooed — virgin of the greater Los Angeles metropolitan region.

For the developer, the hills hold gold. With much of Los Angeles County fully developed, the area is a lure for builders, despite its landslide-prone hills and a history of ravaging fires. When density-limiting deed restrictions were removed from much of the Malibu coast in 1970, bulldozers began to move in. But growth advocates encountered stiff opposition from a coalition of environmental activists. Inner-city residents were made aware they were subsidizing the new mountain developments. A Los Angeles County report last May showed the high cost of services were not covered by the new hill dwellers but shared by those living in the flatlands.

Clean air corridor

Meterologists note that the relatively pristine area channels clean sea air to Los Angeles' smog-filled valleys. Its coastal waters, with kelp beds, rocky intertidal areas, and the Point Dume headlands, led the South Coast Regional Commission to label the area one of "highest priority . . . statewide significance." The Santa Monica mountains contains the county's last free-flowing stream, and recent state parks acquisitions are replete with rare ferns, waterfalls, and unique wildlife.

The area is a haven for urban residents fleeing smog and stucco in search of recreation. But for many of them, their potential playground now serves solely as a fancy backyard for the wealthy — whether they be developers or environ-



Ian Campbell is a free-lance writer, and Faye Hove is a Malibu political activist.

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mentalists. State Senator David Roberti echoed that attitude during the last-minute coastal bill hearings, when he called Malibu developments the second "Great Wall of China." For Roberti, the strips of costly homes exclude the public from the beaches. A recent county parks department report concluded that "Malibu is a community of affluent Anglos with low priority needs for a local park."

Some residents maintain there would be nothing left to fight over were it not for their efforts. Much of the legislation and planning now affecting the area originated with these resident activists. The political history of the area parallels the nationwide rise of the environmental movement in the 1960's. Malibu residents prevented a major marina at Point Dume, and three times turned down county plans for massive sewerage projects they saw as carrots to entice development. A regionwide effort blocked Los Angeles city's Department of Water and Power plans to build a nuclear powerplant complex on a fault in Corral Canyon.

The major environmental victory eliminated state plans to run two freeways through the area. The Malibu-Whitnall Freeway would have crossed through scenic Malibu Canyon and the Pacific Coast Freeway would have destroyed most business and much residential development in coastal Malibu.

Incorporation try

With an eye toward greater local control, some Malibu residents over the past 12 years made three attempts to create a city out of the narrow, 27-mile strip of coast. Last November's bitterly contested incorporation election was an effort to free the area from what some saw as unresponsive county government and to gain negotiating powers with the array of agencies planning the area's future. But the measure failed by a slim margin, apparently the victim of a statewide trend in which voters rejected virtually anything that smacked of higher taxes.

The new coastal commission is bound to be a continuing object of controversy. Even though the commission's authority does not extend throughout the Santa Monica mountains, it does go to the Malibu ridgeline. The biggest question mark about the commission's role is the requirement that local agencies prepare coastal development plans to regain full building permit powers. With the failure of Malibu incorporation, that responsibility will fall to Los Angeles County.

Although the county could resume permit powers before its program is certified, the Supervisors may be reluctant to do so because the permit process is so costly. But county Regional Planning Director Norman Murdoch says, "We will incorporate coastal act philosophy in the county general plan revision . . . we want to get certified."

Just what the county's drawing boards hold in store for the area remains unclear. One alternative would encourage urban fringe development and boost population in the unincorporated area of the Santa Monica mountains from 44,000 to 116,000 by the year 2000. Other policies would stimulate redevelopment of the existing urban core and hold population in this mountain area to 58,000. Present county zoning provides for well over 400,000 people, of which 150,000 could be in the Malibu coastal strip.

Complicating factors

To further complicate matters, the Las Virgenes Municipal Water District is putting the finishing touches on a $300,000-plus plan its officials hope will produce state and federal funds to expand their waste-disposal facilities. To get those funds, the state Water Quality Control Board and the federal Environmental Protection Agency required the district to study the needs of the entire area (although Malibu and Topanga were withdrawn after the study was made).

That amounted to a political curveball. It forced the district to assess sewering needs in Malibu, long the seat of anti-district feeling, primarily because the district wants to increase its discharge of treated sewage into Malibu Creek. The district projects a doubling in the flow of its treated water by 1990 and argues that expanded facilities are necessary. But Malibu residents fear that spells construction of an ocean outfall through Malibu Lagoon State Beach, and the region's environmentalists suggest the new facilities would themselves induce added development on the inland side of the mountains.

The transportation needs of both the public and the residents have been studied to death. The city of Los Angeles has endorsed a proposal which will ensure that Mulholland Highway, roughly travelling the Santa Monica mountains ridgeline, will become a two-lane, slow-speed scenic corridor with riding and hiking trails, viewshed protection, and roadside rests. Another citizen advisory committee made a similar recommendation, but that plan has not been adopted. A citizen committee report coordinated by CalTrans suggests improvements in the Pacific Coast Highway and cross-mountain roads to relieve traffic bottlenecks.

The latest chapter in these voluminous planning efforts will be written by the Santa Monica Mountains Comprehensive Planning Commission. For several years, state legislators representing the area sought a commission to regulate its development. AB 163, sponsored by Assemblyman Howard Berman, originally would have given that commission power to oversee major projects throughout the over 200,000-acre area extending from Elysian Park near downtown Los Angeles into Ventura County.

'Toothless' law

The legislation which won approval last year is largely toothless. The permit powers were dropped and the bill ceded authority for the coastal portion to the coastal commission. Nonetheless, the new Berman commission, with six government representatives and eight public members, will create yet another plan for the Santa Monica mountains.

The search for someone with regionwide authority to resolve the issues confronting the area led, perhaps predictably, to the federal government. Probably the most notable was an effort by former Senator John Tunney to make the Santa Monica mountains and seashore a national urban park. That bill proposed broad federal authority to control land use in the area — an approach which dismayed state parks and recreation officials.

The final element in this maze of overlapping regulation and planning is the state Department of Parks and Recreation. The department held a series of hearings on plans for its three major state parks in the area — Topanga, Malibu Creek and Point Mugu. The plans pose a thorny dilemma for park officials: how to satisfy the recreation needs of the inner-city residents of Los Angeles and still soothe environmentalists' fears that heavy public use will literally trample under foot the values they hope to preserve.

Ironically, the area seems afflicted with either too much or too little of a good thing — governmental planning. While developers have been reasonably satisfied with Los Angeles County's approach, environmentalists have swung from extreme to extreme in their search for limits to development. The Santa Monica mountains still lack a referee with a broad overview of the problems and the authority to resolve them. Those problems remain the pieces of a frustrating puzzle — a puzzle that no one player can put together.

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The doctrine of 'substantial compliance'

Despite early determination of the major issues, the 1977-78 session of the Legislature was off to a slow start, with virtually nothing of importance accomplished in the first three months. Much legislation was late being introduced because of problems instituting a computer system in the legislative counsel's office.

Preliminary hearings were under way on a variety of property tax relief proposals, while death-penalty bills were debated in committees of both the Senate and the Assembly. It appeared only a matter of time before some capital-punishment proposal was placed on Governor Brown's desk for his promised veto. The big question was whether there would be sufficient votes to override the veto.

The most significant issue before lawmakers was the problem of meeting the Supreme Court's *Serrano* decision requiring a major shift in finances for the state's public schools. Governor Brown at the end of February presented a revised version of his $3.7 billion, five-year program. On March 10th, however, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Albert Rodda offered a rival plan, and it appeared that these two proposals would provide the basis for negotiating a possible solution to the problem.

There is a question whether either plan would meet the court's mandate. The Governor's proposal would bring 86 percent of the school children within $200 of each other within five years, compared to 90 percent under Rodda's bill. But the court indicated that it would like to see all of the state's children within $100 of each other in public support.

Brown predicted that the court would go along with "substantial compliance" and not insist on "mathematical exactitude." The Rodda plan would cost $2 billion over five years and leave current programs for children with special problems much as they are; the Governor would revise funding for these programs. The new version of the Brown plan was designed to lighten the load on so-called wealthy districts, like San Francisco. But Rodda claims that his program would have less negative impact on San Francisco than the rival Administration package.

The Governor's approach is supported by Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles and will be carried in the Legislature by Assemblyman Leroy Greene, education committee chairman. The Senate leadership generally backs the Rodda bill.

Senate (26D, 14R)	SB 61	AB 133	AB 181	SB 57	SCA 19	SJR 1	AB 215
Alquist (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ayala (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Behr (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Beverly (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Briggs (R)	N	Y	N	Y	*	Y	N
Campbell (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Carpenter, D. (R)	N	N	*	Y	N	N	N
Carpenter, P. (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cusanovich (R)	N	Y	N	Y	*	N	*
Deukmejian (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Dills (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Dunlap (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Foran (D)	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Garamendi (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Garcia (D)	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Greene (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*	N
Gregorio (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Holden (D)	Y	*	N	*	Y	Y	Y
Holmdahl (D)	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N
Johnson (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Marks (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Mills (D)	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Nejedly (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Nimmo (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Petris (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y
Presley (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rains (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Richardson (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Robbins (D)	Y	*	N	Y	*	*	*
Roberti (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Rodda (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Russell (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Smith (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Song (D)	Y	*	*	Y	Y	N	Y
Stiern (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Stull (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Vuich (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Wilson (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Zenovich (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through mid-March. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y - Yes
N - No
— Absent or not voting

A ⅔ vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (⅔ = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (⅔ = 27 votes)

Senate

EDUCATION

SB 61 (Rodda) — Repeals requirement that local officials send names and addresses of non-citizen school children to immigration officials. Urgency clause defeated, 23-15 (27 votes required).

EMPLOYMENT

AB 133 (Robinson) — Limits worker's compensation benefits for domestic workers, babysitters and gardeners. Passed, 27-7.

ENVIRONMENT

AB 181 (Lewis) — Loans $2.9 million to the newly reorganized South Coast Air Quality Management District. Passed, 27-9.

JUSTICE

SB 57 (Robbins) — Postpones until January 1978 the effective date of the 1976 Uniform Determinate Sentencing Act. Urgency clause defeated, 25-12 (27 votes required).

SCA 19 (Marks) — If approved by the people, would prohibit the governor from

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pardoning or commuting the sentence of anyone sentenced to death or life imprisonment without the possibility of parole. Adopted, 30-4.

MISCELLANEOUS

SJR 1 (Dills) — Asks Congress to propose a constitutional amendment abolishing the electoral college in favor of direct election of the president and vice-president. Adopted, 25-12.

AB 215 (Wornum) — Eliminates requirement that voter-registration affidavits be sent to polling places, making signature comparison optional. Defeated, 19-16 (21 votes required).

Assembly

EDUCATION

AB 211 (Alatorre) — Repeals requirement that local officials send names of noncitizen school children to federal immigration authorities. Failed, 38-21 (41 votes required).

ELECTIONS

AB 193 (Wornum) — Repeals requirement that candidates for legislative or judicial offices file declarations of intention. Defeated, 31-45.

AB 215 (Wornum) — Eliminates requirement that voter registration affidavits be sent to polling places, making signature comparison optional. Passed, 64-9.

ENVIRONMENT

AB 77 (Goggin) — Authorizes $1 million for the state energy commission to study the undergrounding of nuclear reactors. Passed 59-10.

AB 181 (Lewis) — Loans $2.9 million to the newly reorganized South Coast Air Quality Management District. Passed, 59-18.

JUSTICE

AB 62 (McAlister) — Gives police the authority to arrest, without a warrant, any person involved in a traffic accident if there is reason to believe the person had been driving under the influence of a drug. Passed, 45-24.

Assembly (57D, 23R)	AB 211	AB 193	AB 215	AB 77	AB 181	AB 62	AB 35	SJR 1
Agnos (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Alatorre (D)	Y	N	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Antonovich (R)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Arnett (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bane (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bannai (R)	*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Bates (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*
Berman (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Boatwright (D)	Y	N	Y	*	Y	*	Y	*
Brown (D)	*	N	Y	*	Y	N	*	Y
Calvo (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Chacon (D)	Y	N	Y	*	Y	*	*	Y
Chappie (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Chel (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Chimbole (D)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Cline (R)	Y	N	N	Y	*	Y	Y	N
Collier (R)	N	N	*	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Cordova (D)	N	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*
Craven (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Cullen (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Dannemeyer (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Deddeh (D)	N	N	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y
Dixon (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*
Duffy (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Egeland (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Ellis (R)	N	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Fazio (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Fenton (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Gage (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Goggin (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Greene (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Gualco (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hallett (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hart (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayden (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Hughes (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Imbrecht (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N
Ingalls (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Kapiloff (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Keene (D)	*	N	Y	Y	*	N	Y	*
Keysor (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Knox (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Lancaster (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Lanterman (R)	*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Lehman (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lewis (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Lockyer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Maddy (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*
Mangers (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
McAlister (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
McCarthy (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y
McVittie (D)	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Mello (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Miller (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	*
Montoya (D)	*	Y	*	*	Y	*	Y	Y
Mori (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nestande (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Papan (D)	Y	N	Y	*	Y	*	N	Y
Perino (D)	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Priolo (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Robinson (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*
Rosenthal (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Ryan (R)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sieroty (D)	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Statham (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stirling (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Suitt (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thomas, V. (D)	Y	N	Y	*	N	*	Y	N
Thomas, W. (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Thurman (D)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Torres (D)	Y	N	*	*	Y	N	Y	Y
Tucker (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Vasconcellos (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y
Vicencia (D)	Y	N	*	Y	*	N	Y	Y
Warren (D)	*	*	Y	*	Y	*	*	*
Waters, M. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Waters, N. (D)	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wornum (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Wray (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Young (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

AB 35 (Montoya) — Makes the adoption and alteration of community development plans subject to referendum. Passed, 64-8.

MISCELLANEOUS

SJR 1 (Dills) — Asks Congress to propose a constitutional amendment abolishing the electoral college in favor of direct election of the president and vice-president. Adopted, 43-26.

Haerle, continued from page 132

eastern delegates away from the President. But the Reagan rationalization, easily sold to the western neophytes, that Schweiker was "conservative on the important issues," and it was all done for the sake of "unifying the party," just didn't sell to the far shrewder southern conservatives led by Mississippi's Clarke Reed. Scores of them, especially from Virginia, South Carolina, Florida and Mississippi, went over to Ford -- and that was that.

"Kill Schweiker" yelled a Reagan alternate from the Kansas City gallery after Pennsylvania voted overwhelmingly against John Sears' "misery-loves-company" motion that would have forced Ford to pick a running mate before the presidential roll call. But it wasn't Schweiker and it wasn't Sears. It was Reagan who opted to simultaneously behave as a pragmatic politician and talk as if he were an uncompromising idealist.

Finally, both Reagan and Ford shared a misapprehension with regard to the staying power of the other. The lightness with which the Ford White House viewed Reagan has already been noted, but the converse was also true. Reagan's handlers, particularly Nofziger, saw Gerald Ford as an amiable, bumbling, tongue-tied product of the House of Representatives and the somewhat decadent Republican Party of Michigan. They had not the remotest idea of his willingness to learn, his intense desire to retain the presidency, and his real intelligence and inner strength. Just as the White House ultimately found out about Reagan's unmatched talents as a political attack man, so also Reagan and his conservative supporters found out that the man from Grand Rapids had a lot more to him than they had expected.

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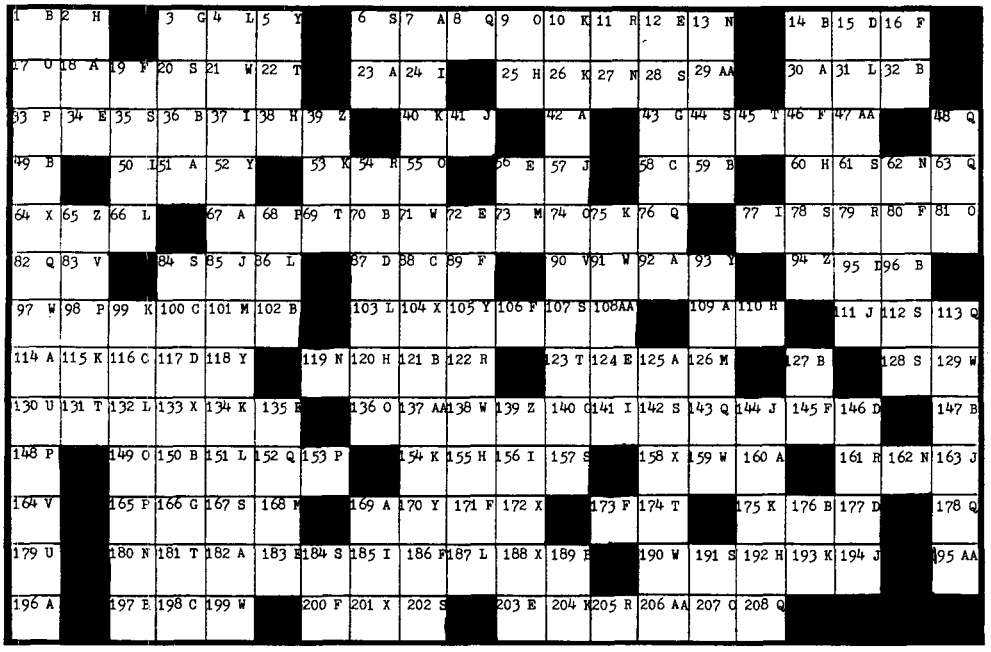
The Political Double-Cross

by Alisa Belinkoff



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Instructions: Although this looks like a crossword puzzle, the words read only across, not up and down. The completed diagram spells out a quote from a book about California politics. Fill in the answers to the clues and transfer the letters to the corresponding spaces in the diagram. You may also work backwards, guessing at words in the diagram and transferring the letters to the clue spaces. The first letters of the clue answers, taken in order, spell out the title and author of the book from which the quote is taken. Most of the clues refer to the California political scene.

Solution next month

CLUES

A. What the Alcoholic Beverage Appeals Board challenged. 7 51 169 — 196 23 109 114 — 125 67 42 182 92 — 160 18 30

B. Convention feature. 14 150 70 36 197 — 102 127 189 1 59 49 — 32 176 147 96 121

C. Decree. 100 88 58 116 198

D. Prostitutes' guild. 87 15 146 95 177 117

E. Profession for a drought year. 34 124 203 56 12 — 183 72 135

F. They used to dominate the Senate. 171 186 16 — 89 200 106 46 145 173 80 19

G. Cranston's post. 3 166 140 43

H. With J; popular song on death of a public official. 25 60 120 192 2 — 110 155 38

I. What they do at a hearing. 77 185 141 37 156 24

J. See H. 41 85 111 163 144 194 57

K. Where Hollywood and politics didn't mix. 193 134 40 — 175 75 115 53 10 99 204 26 154

L. Pat Brown at the '76 convention. 187 4 50 103 151 86 — 132 31 66

M. Fireside revival. 101 126 73 168

N. The "A" in "A. Alan Post." 180 62 13 162 27 119

O. Reagan group: Citizens for the _____. 81 17 136 207 74 — 149 9 55

P. Manor. 68 153 165 33 148 98

Q. Redevelopment, San Francisco-style. 76 208 8 113 178 — 48 143 152 63 82

R. High Court appointee. 122 161 79 11 205 54

S. FPPC says this candidate needn't report his contributors. 142 35 112 157 28 — 202 78 6 184 — 44 167 128 61 191 20 84 107

T. _____ _____ Means Committee. 123 69 22 174 — 45 131 181

U. Administrator's basket. 130 179

V. What statesmen did. 83 164 90

W. Smugglers term for illegal aliens. 159 71 97 — 190 91 21 129 138 199

X. Fall guy's words. 133 201 188 104 — 172 158 64

Y. Phil Watson won't do it for two years. 170 118 93 52 5 105

Z. Politician's fence action. 139 65 94 39

AA. Cultivate. 108 206 137 195 47 29

Solution to last month's puzzle: A. **M**adam Mayor; B. **O**dd; C. **W**axman Berman; D. **R**MN; E. **Y**anatta; F. **C**uckoo's Nest; G. **A**t Dow; H. **L**eaderless; I. **I**n Westlands; J. **F**ield; K. **O**ldest; L. **R**egal; M. **N**o teeth; N. **I**t's us; O. **A**t J.C.; P. **P**acific; Q. **R**eg; R. **O**n schedule; S. **G**oggin; T. **R**ape whistle; U. **E**thical veto; V. **S**outhern; W. **S**enile; X. **I**ced; Y. **V**oorhis; Z. **E**l Adobe; AA. **S**ell.

From Mowry, *California Progressives,* page 141: "The constitutional amendment allowing recall of judges was branded as a 'spewing of intoxicated radicalism' by 'reckless and desperate revolutionary leaders.' 'God save the commonwealth,' shouted the choleric *Los Angeles Times.*"

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A WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE . . .

By Lou Cannon

GOP's loss Panetta's gain

Seven years ago Leon E. Panetta's name was a household word in Washington, where he had just been sacked by the Nixon Administration as director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's office of civil rights. Now, Panetta has advanced to the anonymity of the House of Representatives as a freshman from California's 16th District representing three central coast counties and a portion of another. Panetta, then a Republican, was unprepared for the office of civil rights in that he took seriously Richard Nixon's pledge to "bring us together." He is far better prepared for the differing reality of the House where, despite all the reforms, Democratic freshmen are regarded as childlike creatures who should be heard only in their home districts. "There is a tremendous amount of frustration felt by freshmen at not being immediately able to affect the process after you have talked directly about issues during your campaign," says Panetta. "It takes time to get to the point where you can influence the process as much as you'd like to."

* * *

The guess here is that Panetta will wind up being an influence. He is 38 now, and he combines the experience of three years on U.S. Senator Thomas Kuchel's staff, when Kuchel was minority whip, with the unusual background, for a congressman, of service in the federal bureaucracy. That is still where the power is, despite all the rhetoric about sharing authority with Congress. "I have ambivalent feelings," says Panetta, after three months in the House. "As a representative, I value the independence of not having to get clearance on everything I do. As a congressman, you're the one who carries the ball — it's your vote up or down. But the final action you take is another matter. In the executive branch, the action affects people far more directly. If I determined a (school) district was discriminating, I wrote a letter to the district. The impact is not as direct in the legislative branch. It's a slow process, in which influence is reflected indirectly."

This is a useful perspective with which to begin a congressional career, and the thoughtfulness of it is not surprising to those who watched Panetta in the 14 months when he was point man in the fiercely resisted attempts to desegregate the final 20 percent of Southern school districts. In this country we rarely celebrate bureaucratic victories, but the fact is that desegregation of these hard-core districts was accomplished with ease after Panetta left, partly because of the fuss he made in going. The issues now facing the office of civil rights are desegregation in colleges and in the North, and discrimination against women and the handicapped. Tough issues all, but their existence at the top of the agenda is testimony to other struggles fought and won.

* * *

When he left the office of civil rights, Panetta was a member of a minority within a minority — a professed liberal within the Republican Party. Now he is a member of another minority (former Republicans who have defected to the Democrats) within a majority that accommodates many factions, many policies and many principles. Such former Republicans as Representative Ogden Reid of New York and Senator Don Riegle of Michigan were cheered on by Democrats when they were raising hell within the GOP. They have had trouble finding elbow room or speaking platforms in the Democratic Party, where liberals are as plentiful as lobbyists at a congressional reception.

The obscurity of the principled defector may turn out to be Panetta's lot, too. Whether or not it does, there seems little doubt that the GOP would be better off today — indeed, would be in control of the White House today — if the Nixon Administration had decided to follow Panetta's counsel and stand up for school desegregation rather than accept the political advice of Strom Thurmond and his followers and gain supposed credit for opposing integration. This is retrospective conventional wisdom in the Republican Party now that its presidential nominee has failed to win 10 percent of the Black vote against a White Southern Democrat. Even the chairman of the Republican Party, himself a defeated White Southerner who failed to win many Black votes, talks incessantly about the necessity of attracting minorities to the GOP. Even Thurmond has a Black on his Senate staff. But it is far too little, far too late.

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While the Republican right wing has been winning all of the internal battles and losing most of the wars during the 1970s, liberals have been departing in a steady exodus from the party. "As a moderate liberal, you spent your time fighting for survival," recalls Panetta. "It was hard to get anything done when you were always having to take knives out of your back." There are now so few GOP liberals left that veteran Nixon Administration conservatives like Patrick Buchanan have been calling for preservation of the species, perhaps because GOP liberals retain some lingering symbolic value in national elections. But there is no one waiting in the GOP wings to take the place of the departed Nelson Rockefeller or of such present anachronisms as Senators Charles Mc C. Mathias of Maryland and Jacob Javits of New York. Unfortunately for the GOP, the pride which Southerners feel in the election of Jimmy Carter has prevented the party from gaining on the right what it has lost on the left. A century after the political bargain which ended Reconstruction, the party of Lincoln finds itself saddled with the short-sighted prophecy of John Ehrlichman, who said in 1969: "You know . . . the Blacks aren't where our votes are."

The GOP would have done better to stick with Leon Panetta.

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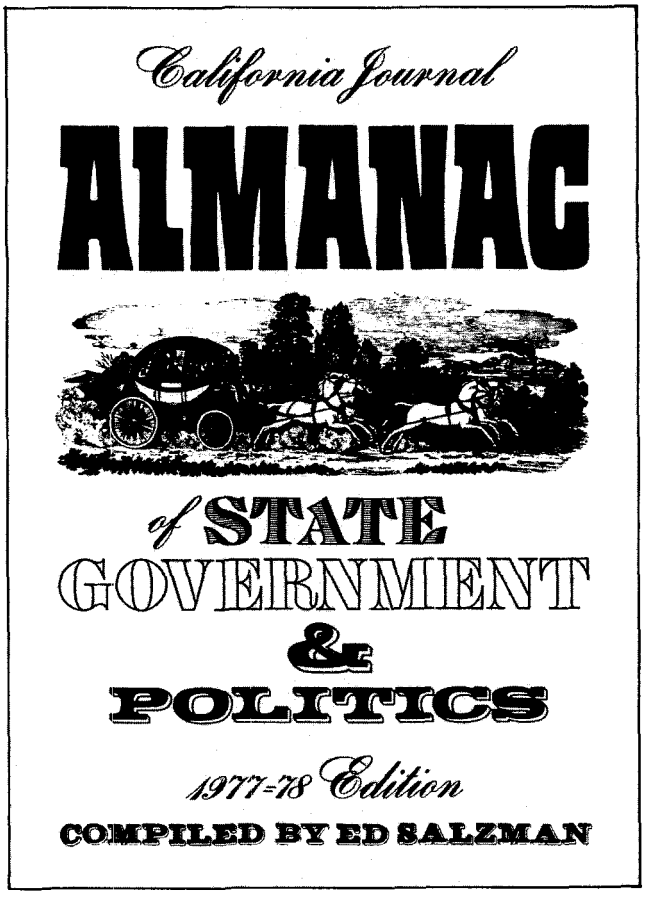

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— Helmut Schmidt

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